THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Ποίησον δ' αἴθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι·
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον, ἐπεί νύ τοι εὔαδεν οὕτως.

Ὅμ. Ιλ.

Engraved by H.Adlard, from a Photograph by J & C Watkins, Parliament St.

Emma A.

London Longmans & Co

# HAWAII:

## THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF ITS ISLAND-KINGDOM.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS (POLYNESIA).

BY

MANLEY HOPKINS

HAWAIIAN CONSUL-GENERAL

ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

Cascade in the Waialua Valley.

*SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED.*

NEW YORK:

D. APPLETON AND CO., GRAND STREET.

1869.

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1869

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

# JOHN EARL RUSSELL, K.G.

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY &c.

THESE PAGES ARE

(WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION)

GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

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# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

## THE SECOND EDITION.

I ENDEAVOURED in my volume on Hawaii, to give a short but clear account of the state and history of that kingdom. Since completing its pages, three years ago, the march of events there has been rapid and important. The extreme interest awakened in this country by the visit to England of the young and widowed Queen of Hawaii has called fresh attention to the islands; and the telescope has been, as it were, frequently turned towards their distant and faintly-shining cluster, as if endeavouring to separate it into its constituent and many-coloured spheres. It has, consequently, been thought desirable to re-edit my work, bringing the history down to the present time. In a series of five new chapters I have described the blow which fell upon Hawaii by the death of its young Prince Royal; the yet heavier grief of the people when their beloved sovereign prematurely died, at the close of 1863; the installation and progress of the English

mission for planting a scion of the Reformed Episcopal Church in the North Pacific; the change in the Constitution effected by the present sovereign—which some have named the *Coup d'Etat*; and lastly, I have given a sketch of the life and important services of Robert Crichton Wyllie, whose death has lately taken place in the islands.

On the appearance of my book a few angry comments were made on it, chiefly by or on account of the American missionaries. What I wrote, I strove to write impartially, without malice and without fear. One lady of American birth, but long resident in the islands, eminent in literature as in other walks of life, has suggested in print, that two gentlemen should set out from Honolulu to Europe, for the purpose of castigating —not my history, but myself. Such a step would seem a very laborious means for effecting a very small object. Should these correctors of the press arrive, they would perhaps find me different from what they had been led to suppose, and not the enemy or detractor of that great nation which is 'bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,' whose late agony of internal conflict we watched so sorrowfully. A closer acquaintance might elicit that English and American hearts beat more in unison than they even themselves suspect; and it is possible that ere our parting, we three might be found kneeling together in prayer to the Common Father, that He would, by ALL MEANS, send out the light and

grace and truth of His Gospel into every dark corner of earth and ocean, and cause it to shine abundantly not only on Hawaii, but on 'the regions beyond.'

In the spirit of conciliation I have in this edition withdrawn the sketch of a person who played a considerable part in the earlier history of the country; because I find that the attached friends of the late Mr. Richards supposed that the drawing—which was a sketch from recollection only, and somewhat altered in engraving—was intentionally a caricature, a thing which was not meant.

I have enriched the present volume with a few extracts which I have been permitted to make from the letters and journals of Archdeacon and Mrs. Mason.

I have added an important summary of the commerce of Hawaii, and an able statement concerning the trade and producing powers of the islands drawn up by W. W. Follett Synge, Esq., late British Commissioner and Consul-General in Hawaii, now our Consul-General in Havana and Judge of the Court of Mixed Commissions.

Some fresh works touching, in part or entirely, on the islands have come into my hands; of which the most important is the *brochure* published in Boston, by the Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson, of which some mention will be found in these pages.

In my chapter on the English Church Mission, I have endeavoured to correct several misconceptions

about it which have obtained currency in England, America, and elsewhere.

Whilst re-editing a work which deals with a state of things existing four years previously, I have been unable altogether to avoid some literary inconsistency. In reproducing generally my former volume, it was necessary to correct some figures to the present time, and, in places, to complete the history of transactions which were then in progress. A few paragraphs, therefore, belong to two periods. I can only ask indulgence for a defect which is almost unavoidable.

I have to thank the press for the cordial and gratifying manner in which they noticed my former volume, and made it known to the public. With a painful consciousness of all its shortcomings, I commend the present work to the attentive consideration of my readers.

The excellent likeness of Her Majesty Queen Emma of Hawaii is engraved by Mr. Adlard after a photograph by Messrs. John and Charles Watkins, of Parliament Street.

M. H.

*April* 1866.

# PREFACE.

IT is not much that need be said by way of preface to this volume. Few will begin to read it who will not soon find that it is not a book to be laid down when it has been commenced. It is, indeed, a notable record of a very peculiar form of our common humanity. The character of the Sandwich Islanders is, in many respects, one of those clearly marked developments of national life on which we always gaze with peculiar interest, from the distinctness with which we trace the lines of dissimilarity to ourselves, even whilst we feel everywhere present the great underlying basis of our essential brotherhood.

There is about these islanders a remarkable union of the attractiveness of childhood with the strength of maturity. And this union of diverse elements in their nature has embodied itself strikingly in their institutions, and fixed itself in their history. In this they greatly resemble the Coral Islands of their own seas,

which combine in such picturesque unity the conditions of freshness and perfection. But as yesterday, the secret labours of a million of animalculæ deposited that coral reef to chafe the blue waters, and let them sleep in the still lagoon. Then some volcanic eruption cast up far above the ocean plain the mountain which startles the eye with its abrupt suddenness of elevation—and, now, the palm-tree, and the cocoa-nut, and the sandal-wood, and all the prodigality of tropical nature, are clothing every spot of the well-watered island with fertility and grace.

This volume will conduct the reader through the great national changes which, in our own age, have passed over the critical youth of this people. Some of its scenes can hardly be equalled elsewhere. The rapid development of true principles of commerce; the struggle for independence; the passage from barbarity to a great degree of refinement; the ripening of such a character as that of the present King—all of these are transacted with a strange singularity of event, in the most glowing colours before our eyes. But perhaps of all others the religious history of the people is the strangest. The sudden abandonment of their whole heathen mythology—not for the verities of a sounder faith, but from very weariness of the intolerable and degrading burthen of heathendom itself,—and the entire destruction of their idols, stand almost alone in the history of man. Most strange is it to contrast this with

the long remaining fears of their old idols and love for their old idolatry, which in the apostolic epistles we trace as clinging to and haunting the earliest converts to Christianity. It is not a little remarkable, too, that in this sudden and entire deliverance of the people from the meshes of their old superstition, the leading instrument should be a woman—a Queen-mother, strengthening the halting hands of the young and trembling king, to break the bondage under which he groaned, but before the threats of which he quailed.

Nor is this the only instance of the sort. It would be difficult to find in any history the record of a nobler act of faithful courage than that of the descent of another noble woman into the very crater of the volcano, in order to convince her countrymen that they might fearlessly brave the supposed deadly indignation of the evil god to whom tradition had assigned the crater as a home, and of whose wrath it had taught the islanders to believe that the destroying eruptions were the manifested consequence.

All of this, moreover, has at this time a special interest for us. The Royal Family of those islands have long sought to cultivate an English alliance; but it has been reserved for the present enlightened king to seek it in the way in which it can be most certainly secured—by planting among his people, with all the advantages which can be derived from his own adhesion to it, a branch of our Reformed Church. At his desire,

and with the concurrence of our Queen, a Bishop of our nation has been consecrated at Lambeth, to bear the precious seed to the distant island of his adoption. To him is to be committed the training of the future heir to the throne. For the Bishop's coming the public reception of the young prince into the Church has been postponed; whilst to mark our gracious Queen's interest in the movement, SHE, even in this day of her sorrow, has consented to be sponsor to the royal youth, and sends out sponsorial gifts befitting England's Queen, as pledges of the reality of her interest in the religious act in which, though absent, she is to partake.

May it please God greatly to bless and prosper this new undertaking of our Sovereign and her nation's church. In venturing on it we are but paying the debt which in virtue of our own Christianity and our own national prosperity we owe to less favoured tribes of men. It is surely specially appropriate that such gifts as these,—the high gifts of the doctrine and perfect organization of the Church of Christ, which have built up her own liberties and greatness, should be imparted by the Ocean Queen to her sister islands. Our relation, too, to New Zealand adds greatly to the interest of this undertaking. From the New Zealand church, our own Bishop Patteson—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—is making his way of blessing northward through the Melanesian group. Southward, on his way of benediction, may the Bishop of Honolulu speed, until the

two advancing currents of the living waters of the living Gospel of our Lord knit in one long grasp the hands of the two Island-Prelates; and they kneel together on the shore of some jointly-conquered island, to exclaim in grateful adoration, THIS HATH GOD DONE!

S. OXON.

CUDDESDON PALACE:
*May* 24, 1862.

# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

# THE FIRST EDITION.

WHEN a native of Tahiti was shown a map of the world, he convicted the geographer of jealousy and untruth in having made Tahiti so small, and other parts of the earth so disproportionately large.

I have to apologise to a world in which there is already a greater number of writers than readers, for adding one more volume to the printed burthen it sustains;—a book, too, about a very small and very distant nation. I feel that in taking this responsibility I have the public *nausea audiendi* against me.

Those, however, who are still left with time enough to go through a new book, will perhaps find something to interest them in the history, or, as I may venture to call it, the biography of a nation, so circumscribed that the story from its pre-historic period to the present time embraces scarcely more than eighty years; and relating to an island group so far removed from us in space, that it affects our vision only like 'some bright

particular star.' It is even hoped that something useful may be learned from such a recital, in which we have before us the life of a community, its efforts, its errors, its failures, its escapes, its repentances; its vivacious childhood, its noon-day struggles, and—must we add?—its instructed but premature decay. If such examples afford no lesson, we are compelled to arrive at Coleridge's melancholy conclusion, that experience is like the stern-lights of a vessel, which only illumine the track that it passed.

A book of this kind must necessarily be to a considerable extent a compilation. I have, consequently, made the fullest use of what writings exist on the subject of the Sandwich Islands, either in a separate form or included in volumes of voyages. The industrious and well-arranged history of Mr. James Jackson Jarves (Honolulu, 1847) has been of the greatest service to me in transactions previous to that date. A little circumspection is, of course, required in accepting the views of an American citizen on points wherein other nations are concerned; and as a corrective, I had before me Mr. A. Simpson's pamphlet entitled, 'Progress of Events,' which deals with a very important period of Hawaiian history, the cession of the islands to this country, through Lord George Paulet, in 1843; Mr. Simpson, who took a leading part in that transaction, being very much opposed to the Americans, the missionaries, and, as far as I can judge, to everybody.

I have consulted the Rev. S. Dibble's History (Lahainala, in 1843) in which is embodied the information derived directly from the native pupils at the Government Seminary, Lahaina.

I have found useful information scattered through the volumes on the Sandwich Islands by Mr. Cheever, Mr. Hill, and some other travellers.

Sir George Simpson's 'Overland Journey round the World' contains some chapters devoted to the Hawaiian Archipelago. The views of that acute observer relative to the then and the future condition of the islands are important and enlightened. Sir George sent me his M.S. to see through the press, and I published it, in two volumes, with the late Mr. Colburn, in 1847. The arrival in England during the progress of my work, of my brother, after a residence in Hawaii of sixteen years, was very opportune. His emendations have been valuable, and I have embodied in my pages some original information he has given me on subjects of which they treat. His office of Director of the Government Press at Honolulu, and, latterly, the part which he has himself taken in public affairs, as a member of the House of Nobles, qualify him to speak with distinctness, as he has been able to observe from a central point of view.

The archives of my own office and the official and unofficial communications I constantly receive from the islands enable me to give statistical and other information down to the latest date.

The Rev. William Ellis, author of 'Polynesian Researches,' 'A Journey through Hawaii, and a more recent work on Madagascar, to which island he has just returned, very kindly sent me his most interesting Narrative, published in the year 1825. It is a sort of text-book, to all subsequent writers, of the earliest history of the islands, their traditions and old customs, collected by Dibble and the first American missionaries, assisted by the natives themselves. Though a dissenter from the Church of England, Mr. Ellis's large and liberal mind shows itself in every line of his writing, and in the personal intercourse with which he obliged me. I have to thank the London Missionary Society for supplying me with the Reports of the Boston Board of Foreign Missions; and I own my obligations to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company for permitting me to read in their library the early editions of oceanic explorers.

I have not, of course, omitted to examine the splendid volumes of the United States Exploring Expedition, commanded by Commodore Wilkes,—an officer whose reputation will depend more on the scientific than the belligerent part of his profession.

For earlier events I have also gleaned from the agreeable pages of my friend the late Admiral Beechey, in his interesting 'Narrative of the Voyage of the "Blossom."'

After such preparations, my book will appear but a slight sketch of the subject on which it treats. It was

intended for nothing more. Its design is to give a popular but connected account of an interesting and imperfectly known group of islands, which have had, during eight decades, an association with our own country, unusually close and frequent for so small and distant a nation. If one word may be permitted as to the execution of my task, I have to own, and that with regret, that owing to the unceasing nature of other occupations, I have not been able to expend on my book so much of the *labor limæ* as a writer would desire for his own satisfaction, or the public would have a right to expect in every printed work which solicits its notice.

London: *May* 1862.

# CONTENTS.


CHAPTER I.

PAGE

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND ORIGIN—HARBOURS . . . 1

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND PHENOMENA—VOLCANOES . . 12

CHAPTER III.

CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS—COMMERCE . . . . . 31

CHAPTER IV.

OUR ROYAL CITY OF HONOLULU . . . . . 46

CHAPTER V.

DERIVATION OF THE HAWAIIAN RACE—TRADITIONS OF . 60

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY ISLAND DISCOVERIES—NATIVE HISTORY—COOK'S FIRST ARRIVAL . . . . . 83

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRAGEDY IN KEALAKEAKUA BAY . . . . . 95

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

The Sequel of Cook's Death—Subsequent Visits . 111

CHAPTER IX.

Historical Sketch—'A Dust of Systems'—'The Lonely One' . . . . . 137

CHAPTER X.

Historical Sketch—Kaméhaméha the Conqueror—Ineptness for the Lyre . . . . . 151

CHAPTER XI.

Historical Sketch—Kaméhaméha the King—His Death—'I come to bury Cæsar, *and* to praise him' . . 163

CHAPTER XII.

Historical Sketch—Accession of Liholiho—The Abolition of Idolatry . . . . . 180

CHAPTER XIII.

Historical Sketch—Arrival of American Missionaries—The Visit of the King and Queen to England, and their Death . . . . . 194

CHAPTER XIV.

Historical Sketch—The Brook becomes a Stream—An Apostolic Prefect arrives—The Argonauts . 212

CHAPTER XV.

Historical Sketch—The Stream becomes a River—Reign of Kaméhaméha III. . . . . 226

CHAPTER XVI.

Historical Sketch—The first French Tribulation . 244

## CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE
Historical Sketch—Essays in Constitution-making . 259

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Historical Sketch—The Carysfort Affair . . . 280

## CHAPTER XIX.

Historical Sketch—The Envoys Extraordinary—The Belgian Contract . . . . . 298

## CHAPTER XX.

Historical Sketch—The Treaties of Commerce and Friendship, and consequent Hostilities . . . 312

## CHAPTER XXI.

Historical Sketch—Reign of Kaméhaméha IV. . . 328

## CHAPTER XXII.

Hawaiian Characteristics . . . . . 348

## CHAPTER XXIII.

The Depopulation of the Islands—Kibroth-Hataava 367

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Missionary Achievement and Failure . . . . 381

## CHAPTER XXV.

Glances at the Past and Guesses at the Future . 399

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Kaleleo-ka-lani—'The Flight of the Chief' . . 420

## CHAPTER XXVII.

PAGE
BROKEN-HEARTED . . . . . 428

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE WILD OLIVE-TREE . . . . . 450

## CHAPTER XXIX.

ACCESSION OF KAMÉHAMÉHA V.—THE 'COUP D'ETAT' . 476

## CHAPTER XXX.

ROBERT CRICHTON WYLLIE . . . . . 497

## APPENDIX.

CORAL ISLANDS . . . . . 513

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.


Portrait of Emma, Queen Dowager of Hawaii *To face Title-page*
(From a Photograph. Engraved by Adlard, after a Photograph by Watkins.)

Map . . . . . *To face page* 1

Cascade in the Waialua Valley (*Vignette in Title-page*) *W. J. Linton*
(Drawn on Wood by Miss C. Lane.)

Crater of Kilauea . . (*G. Pearson*) . *To face page* 12

The Harbour, Honolulu . „ . „ 46

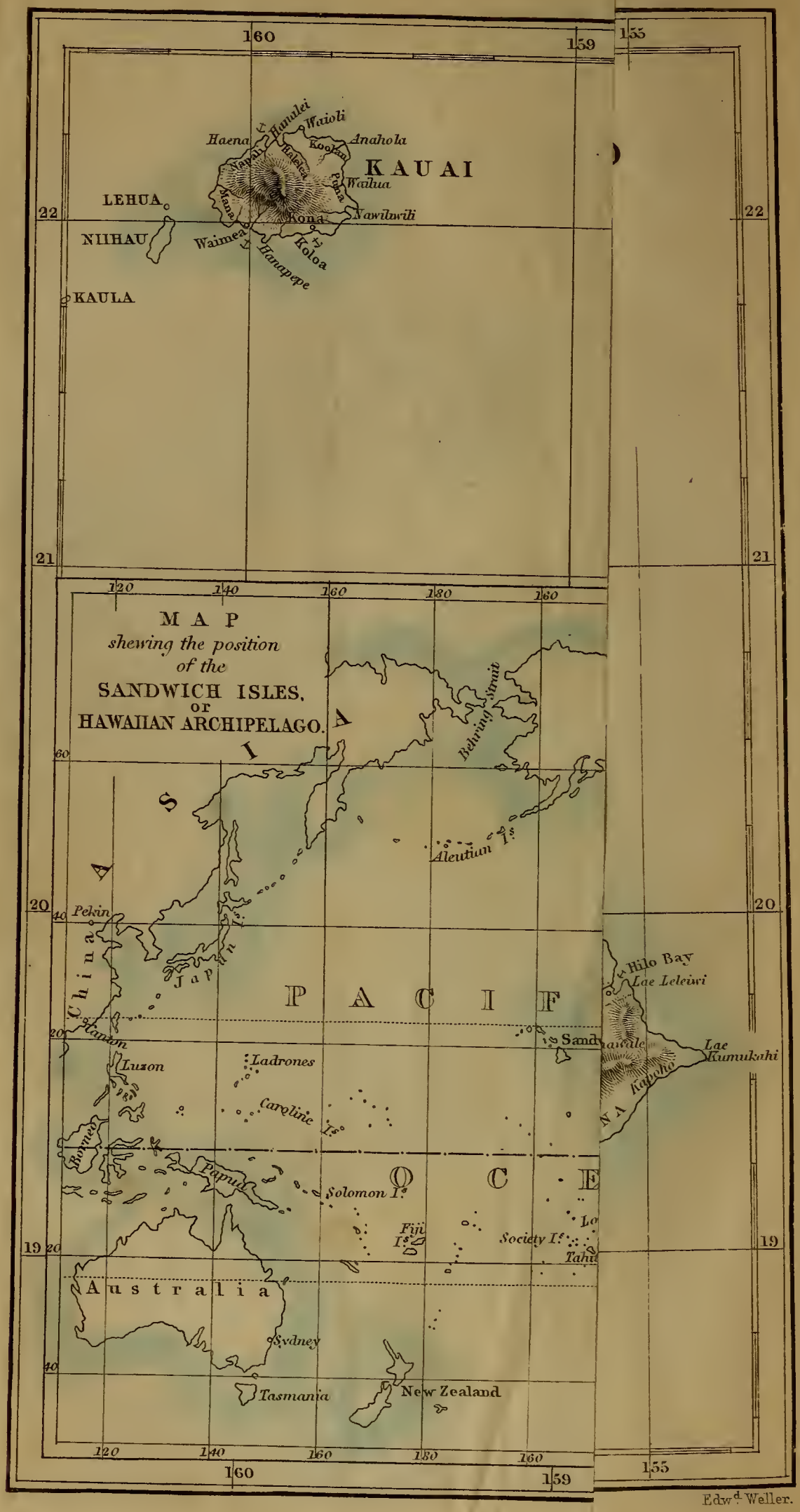
Entrance of the Nuuanu Valley, Honolulu . „ 59

Ewa, from Honolulu . . (*G. Pearson*) . „ 170

Portrait of King Kaméhaméha IV. . . . „ 328

Proposed Church at Honolulu (*G. Pearson*) . . *page* 347
(Designed by W. Slater.)

Diamond Head, Honolulu . (*G. Pearson*) . *To face page* 380


MAP
shewing the position
of the
SANDWICH ISLES,
or
HAWAIIAN ARCHIPELAGO.
KAUAI
LEHUA
NIIHAU
KAULA
Haena
Hanalei
Waioli
Anahola
Kooiau
Napali
Halelea
Puna
Wailua
Mana
Kona
Nawiliwili
Waimea
Koloa
Hanapepe
Behring Strait
Aleutian Is.
Pekin
China
Japan Is.
Canton
Luzon
Ladrones
Caroline Is.
Borneo
Papua
Solomon Is.
Fiji Is.
Society Is.
Australia
Sydney
Tasmania
New Zealand
Hilo Bay
Lae Leleiwi
Lae Kumukahi
Kapoho
Sand
Edwd. Weller.

# THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

## CHAPTER I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND ORIGIN—HARBOURS.

TO the imagination of the ancient Greek or Roman the pillars of Hercules formed the entrance into a dark and mysterious sea; yet, somewhere in its unknown waters, towards the setting of the sun, lay, in his belief, the Fortunate Islands, under a clearer sky and in a happier climate than any known in the world of men. This dream of a land, of which they spoke sometimes as an Elysium for departed spirits, sometimes almost as a region which might be reached by the living, was not altogether without an influence for good. It kept awake a longing curiosity, which might one day give birth to active enterprise; it prevented the mind from accepting the bounds of one or two inland seas as the limits of the habitable world.

Such dreams were doomed to be dispelled, when, eighteen centuries later, the march of geographical discovery began; but in their place was left the fact, that the earth was larger than antiquity had taken it to be; and the belief gradually grew up that even another

# THE HAWAIIAN ARCHIPELAGO

KAUAI
LEHUA
NIIHAU
KAULA
Waioli
Waioh
Anahola
Hanalei
Waimea
Koloa
Kona
Hanapepe
Wailua

OAHU
Punaluu
Kahuku
Waimea
Koolauloa
Koolau
Laie
L. Kaena
Waialua
Waianae
Ewa
Honolulu
Waikiki
Leahi
Waialae
Koko
Makapuu
L. Makapuu

MOLOKAI
Halawa
Mauna Loa
Kalaupapa

MAUI
LANAI
L. Kaena
Lahaina
Wailuku
Kaanapali
Kaanakaupoko
Kaeleku
Kaanapali
Olowalu
Opihi
Mauna Haleakala
Kula
Hana
L. Hamaka
MOLOKINI
Kanio
KAHOOLAUI
Kanaloa
Opolu
Hana
Mahukona
Lanpahoehoe
Hipu
KOHALA
HAMAKUA
Waipio
Waimea
Kawaihae
Mauna Kea
Waipunalei
HILO
Hilo Bay
Waiakea R.
Lae Leleiwi
Lae Mano
HAWAII
KONA
Kailua
Hanhuaha
Kaawaloa
Kealakeakua Bay
( The place of Cook's Death )
Mauna Loa
Kaluaiki or Volcano
Olaa
Kaimuki
Lae Kumukahi
Honaunau
Kapapalu
Keiva
Puna
Apua
Waiohinu
Hinole
Lau Fele
Kaalu
Kalae

MAP
*shewing the position of the*
SANDWICH ISLES,
or
HAWAIIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

ASIA
China
Japan
Pekin
Manilla
Luzon
Ladrones
Caroline Is.
Pelew Is.
Papua
Solomon Is.
Fiji Is.
Australia
Sydney
Tasmania
New Zealand
Aleutian Is.
British Columbia
Vancouver I.
NORTH AMERICA
S. Francisco
California
Mexico
Panama
Galapagos
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sandwich Is.
Equator
Marquesas
Low Archipelago
Society Is.
Tahiti

London Longman & Co.

Edwd Weller.

continent lay interposed in the untraversed sea between Europe and the Indian land. The conviction was justified by the discoveries of Columbus, and his successors.

One of the latest results of geographical research may be thus stated:—All the continents stretch downwards from the northern pole of our planet, and terminate in points; as if its waters, receding to the south, had left bare at the lower extremities of the land the central ridges only. In the Southern hemisphere, islands form a partial equipoise to these continental masses of land, and declare themselves, by several indications, to be peaks of land, once elevated but afterwards submerged by the increased depth of ocean. Islands elevated by volcanic action constitute exceptions to this general formula.

Lieutenant Julien, of the French navy, gives, as a farther fruit of his own investigation, that in proceeding from the North to the South Pole, the ratio of land to water diminishes regularly with every parallel of latitude.

Islands, comparatively few in number above the Tropic of Cancer, stud the southern waters of the world in countless abundance. Group after group spreads onwards like the constellations of the firmament. In size, they vary from the vast mass of Australia, and of Borneo, with its fifty millions of inhabitants,* to little *pulos* and low lagoon-islands, rising but a few feet above the sea-level.

The whole of this tropical and southern realm of waters has been named Oceanica, and has been divided hydrographically, for convenience of reference, into five districts—as the stars have been mapped out into ima-

* Its population is so reported by the bishop of Labuan.

ginary figures with corresponding names. The divisions of the Ocean World are the following:—To the eastward, POLYNESIA; comprising the *Sandwich*, *Marquesas*, *Society*, *Harvey*, *Friendly*, *New Zealand*, and *Samoan* groups. To the south, MELANESIA—inhabited by black races; it includes the *Figi* (or *Feejee*), *New Hebrides* and *Solomon* Archipelagoes, and *New Guinea*. Still more south, AUSTRALASIA—comprehending the great land of *Australia*, and its dependencies. Westward, MALAISIA—embracing the East India Islands, and inhabited principally by the Malay races. These islands, six thousand in number, contain the largest in the world, with the exception of Australia. Lastly, situated somewhat centrally with respect to the other groups, a region of small isles and islets, fitly named MICRONESIA.

It is proposed in the following pages to give an account of the most northerly cluster of the Polynesian Archipelago, viz. the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. And if on close inspection we find reason to remove the place of the Islands of the Blest still onward with the retreating horizon, and discover that, amidst natural charms and delicious climate, vice and death and sorrow hold their place, we only confirm the poet's discovery that—

> 'things which to the world belong,
> So false doth sad experience find,
> She learns betimes among the throng,
> To bound the kingdom to the mind.'

But we shall be made acquainted with a very interesting people, evincing an extraordinary aptitude for European civilisation, and possessing a 'government which, youthful as it is, will bear comparison with those of the best

ruled states in Europe.'* These islands have, moreover, a special interest to our countrymen at the present moment, inasmuch as, at the invitation of their sovereign, the English Episcopal Church has been planted for the first time on their shores; not merely, it is hoped, to enlighten that immediate spot, but to shed its light across the waters to other island-homes.

The importance of the Sandwich Islands, politically and commercially, arises from their particularly central situation. They lie in a diagonal position from south-east to north-west, in a parallelogram rather exceeding one formed by the 19th and 22nd degrees of north latitude, and the 155th and 160th meridians of west longitude; and it will be seen, by reference to a map, that the group is nearly equidistant from the coasts of America and Japan, and that a radius from its centre would touch in succession the shores of central America, the north-west States, the Russian territory, the Aleutian Archipelago, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Torres' Straits, New Zealand, and the Feejee Islands. And whilst Australia is just beyond the ambit, California and Vancouver's Island are within a shorter distance of the Hawaiian Islands.

Thus they form an oasis in the ocean desert—a stepping-stone between two worlds; and they afford a place of refreshment of the utmost value for merchantmen and the large fleet of whalers in the northern Pacific. Commerce is establishing for itself a new road from east to west, and from west to east, across the ocean; and we still wait in expectation to see an opening forced through the Isthmus of Panama, by which ships may sail from sea to sea, carrying on the interchange of

* C. St. Julian.—'Report on Central Polynesia.'

human labour and natural production, without the necessity of a protracted voyage round the South American Continent, and consequent exposure in the inclement and dangerous latitudes of Cape Horn.* Should the Darien Ship Canal be constructed, the Hawaiian Islands will assume a far greater importance than they have yet had, for they lie in the very path which navigation would then take. Even now, says a recent visitor, 'the islands, on account of their position and the extent of cultivable land they contain, enjoy advantages above any other of the numerous groups which lie scattered over the Pacific Ocean.'†

Humboldt, writing before the year 1822, says—'The Sandwich Islanders are excellent sailors. . . . . They have attempted to build schooners, and even armed vessels, with which they project distant expeditions. . . . They have profited more from their communication with Europeans than all the other South Sea islanders. The sphere of their ideas has been extended; wants have been communicated to them which they were ignorant of; and within these twenty years they have made a considerable progress towards that social state which we very improperly designate by the word "civilisation." . . . Perhaps this people will one day be as formidable on the Great Ocean as the privateers and pirates of the Bermudas and Bahama Islands and Barbary who are dreaded in the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean.'‡

The origin of the islands is clearly volcanic. This

* On the globe of John Schoner, made in 1520, and preserved in the library of Nuremberg, a passage through the Isthmus of Panama is laid down :—an interesting anachronism.

† Hill—'Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands.' London, 1856.

‡ 'Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain.' 1822.

tremendous agency, by which they were elevated from the depths of the sea, and which has tossed up mountain peaks in Hawaii 14,000 feet above the water-level, appears to have taken a direction from South-east to North-west; the first exertion of force having been greatest, and diminishing in intensity as it proceeded. Thus Hawaii, the most Southerly island, has an area of 4000 out of 6000 square miles, the whole superficial contents of the group; and it possesses also the highest elevation; the two mountains Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa being of nearly equal altitude, viz. 14,000 feet. On the side of the latter mountain is situated the great volcanic crater Kilauea. Next in position to Hawaii, is the island of Maui, with an area of 620 miles, and having in its neighbourhood the smaller islands of Lanai and Kahoolawe. To the north-west of Maui lies Molokai, a long narrow island extending east and west, formed by a mountain ridge, which runs its whole length. Next comes Oahu, with an area of 530 miles. Nearly two degrees beyond Oahu is situated Kauai, 500 miles in extent. Last in order of the greater islands is Niihau; and farther westward Kaula rises, which, with one or two islets and uninhabited rocks, shews itself the expiring effort of Plutonic energy.

The observations of Mr. Hill led him to an opposite conclusion with regard to the direction and order in which the islands were projected. He is of opinion that Niihau was the first thrown up, and that the volcanic action advanced towards the south-east, and increased in energy till it culminated in Hawaii, the last and largest link of the chain. As the grounds of this opinion, he gives the more or less advanced state of the soil, the progress of vegetation, and the cessation or diminution of eruptions and earthquakes. Upon all these data he

decided Kaui to possess the greatest antiquity, and Hawaii the least. He feels his opinion fortified by the volcanic activity existing in Hawaii, and by the fact that in 1837 an extraordinary retreat of the sea took place from the shores of that island, followed by a returning wave, indicating great disturbance, and giving rise to the impression that another island was about to rise to the south-east of Hawaii. The phenomena do not appear quite conclusive in establishing the relative dates of the islands. The oldest lava in Hawaii may be, and probably is, overlaid by newer deposits and thus concealed; and the present volcanic activity may only shew that the original seat of energy remains unchanged; and that the action, greatest at Hawaii, expanded itself in a north-west direction,—its last result being the rudimentary island of Niihau, and the rock called Bird Island.*

The volcanic, though it is the primary, is not the sole origin of the group. From the flanks of the submerged mountains the coral insect builds upwards its wonderful structure, till it emerges from the waves as a reef, more or less distant from the shore. The antiquity of the islands is shewn by their coralline formations, which could only have attained their present elevation by the incessant labours of an infinitude of insects, acting through vast periods of time. In some places there is a double reef; the outer line indicating, perhaps, the slow upheaving of the base of the mountains from the sea-bottom subsequently to its first projection, until it approached sufficiently near the surface of the water to fulfil the conditions necessary to insect

* Two slight earthquakes have been experienced since the commencement of the present year (1862) at Honolulu. On both occasions the motion was from east to west.

existence. The coral reefs of the Hawaiian islands are, however, of much smaller extent than those of more southern groups, and only appear on some of the coasts.

As might be supposed from the igneous origin of the islands, no metals are found on them.* Scoriæ, decomposed lava, with sand, &c., are the materials of the soil; but ledges of compact limestone are found at considerable elevations above the sea; portions of the bottom of the ocean, probably forced upwards by the great submarine eruptions which have produced the lofty craters which abound. There is also found on the shore a species of white stone, which, from the description received of it, would seem to be analogous to the English 'clunch,' used in the restorations of Ely Cathedral; which, from the ease with which it is worked, is very valuable for carved tracery. This stone, found in the districts of Ewa and Waianae, island of Oahu, is soft whilst lying in the water or under the sand, and easily cut; but hardens by exposure to the sun. For building purposes there are basalt, compact lava, coral rock and sandstone.

* Ellis remarks a fact which appears an exception to the absence of metals stated above. In journeying from the village of Keapuana, in Hawaii to the foot of Mauna Loa, he crossed a waste or desert of fine sparkling sand, into which the feet sank at every step. It was of a dark olive colour, and *adhered readily to the magnet.* Unless meteoric, it is difficult to account for its presence; and it recalls the tracts of steel or ferruginous sand abundant on some of the shores of New Zealand.

Mr. Goodrich, one of Mr. Ellis's fellow missionaries, remarked also, that when ascending the great mountain Mauna Kea, the compass, which pointed true North whilst held in the hand, was deflected between two and three degrees to the eastward when placed on the blocks of lava which abounded; and he attributed this effect to iron contained in the mountain. May not the mass of the mountain in proximity alone have produced the deflection?

The regions of fertility lie at the bases of the mountains and in the valleys, where abrasion and disintegration have proceeded for untold years, and rich deposits of vegetable mould have accumulated. Such a valley runs up from the capital, Honolulu, among the hills; and from the beautiful views it affords,—its grassy slopes, its bridged rivulets, its villas, and especially its air, which becomes more invigorating as the road winds upward,—the Nuuanu Valley is one of the favourite rides of the residents of Honolulu.

The soil is generally thin and poor, but this is not universally the case; and it affords fine pasturage. On the 'lands,' or grazing farms, are raised large herds, which supply meat for the whalers and merchant-shipping, and thus find a ready market. Vast numbers of horses also subsist on the islands, mostly of an inferior kind; and it would be an advantage to the kingdom if four-fifths of them were destroyed. They unnecessarily consume the grass, and break the fences; but horse-riding is a passion with the natives of both sexes.

Some of the islands are well supplied with rivers and streams, particularly Hawaii and Kauai. Along the shore of Hilo, a district of that island, sixty permanent streams of various sizes fall into the sea; whilst their numerous branches and feeders thread the country, and give unrivalled facilities for irrigation.

Large forests abound, very dense, and broken with chasms, ravines, and extinct craters. In making the ascent of the two great mountains in Hawaii, twelve miles of forest have to be passed through.

The great harbour of the group is Honolulu, situated on the south side of Oahu. It is formed by an indentation of the coast, protected by a broad coral reef. The channel through the reef has only twenty-two and

a half feet water at its shallowest part; so that though the harbour is commodious, vessels drawing more than twenty feet are excluded, and lie in the roadstead outside, where there is excellent anchorage, except during a Souther, or 'Kona.' For shipping of less draught, pilots are in attendance, and the vessels either run through the channel on a wind, or, more generally, are towed in. Ships go out of harbour under sail, as for nine months in the year the trade wind is blowing seaward.

Within the harbour there is plenty of space and every convenience. On the right hand a battery, seated on Punch-bowl Hill, commands the port. There are wharves and warehouses, conveniences for heaving ships down for repairs, and pipes for supplying fresh water. A steam-dredging machine is at work deepening and cleaning the harbour. The inhabitants of Honolulu speak with pride of 150 sail of shipping having been seen in their port at one time.

During the year 1859, Honolulu was visited by two British, one French, one American, and one Russian ships of war: 109 merchantmen* and 170 whalers entered the harbour; whilst 19 merchant-ships and 79 whalers remained outside.

Eight miles westward, at Ewa, on the same island, is an inland basin, in which the entire commerce of the Pacific might lie; but this great harbour is almost useless, from there being only twelve feet water on the bar at low tide.

The next place of importance, as regards commerce, is Lahaina, on the south-west or leeward side of Maui. Five merchantmen and 116 whalers entered this road-

* This number includes second and third visits of some of the vessels.

stead in 1859. On the north-west side of Hawaii, in Byron's Bay, is the harbour of Hilo; spacious, and with a good entrance through the wide coral reef. This port is on the windward face of the island, and is not now much frequented. Only two merchant-ships entered it in 1859, and forty-nine whalers. Formerly it appears to have been a place of greater resort. In 1846, four men-of-war, sixty-seven whalers, and thirty-four trading schooners arrived there. Three or four other harbours are accessible; and other parts of the coast possess undeveloped potentialities. The estuary of Pearl River (Oahu), for example, is a port, safe, large, and deep enough to contain all the shipping of that ocean; but its shallow channel will only permit small vessels to enter.

Independent of the harbours, ships can lie at anchor with safety in many of the roadsteads; which, though they are exposed, have good holding ground, have no dangers from hidden reefs or rocks, and the winds prevailing for nine or ten months in the year are more or less favourable, according to the bearing of the Trades and Konas upon the coasts.

## CHAPTER II.

### PHYSICAL FEATURES AND PHENOMENA—VOLCANOES.

ON approaching the group from certain directions the first objects which meet the sight are the two lofty peaks on Hawaii, each 14,000 feet in height,—two miles and a half,—one of them capped with perpetual snow, which contrasts with the deep blue of the tropical sky above, and with the darkness of the lava forming the sides of the mountains. A rude and irregular outline of high lands then presents itself; and on the north side are seen, on a nearer view, the dark forests which clothe the lower region of the mountains; whilst giddy precipices front the sea, of from 1000 to 3000 feet in perpendicular height, against whose walls the waves beat and surge and thunder through the caverns which they have hollowed for themselves in their ceaseless war. In some places, streams which have united their waters on their way, rush together over one of these *palis*, or precipices, into the ocean. Still nearer, the white foam is seen pouring in sheets over coral reefs, of which there is sometimes an outer and inner ridge. The islands are generally lofty; the small isle of Lehua, near Niihau, having an elevation of 1000 feet. The upland region of Kauai has an uniform height above the sea of 4000 feet. Once through the reefs, or anchored in a leeward roadstead, scenes of gentler beauty

THE CRATER OF KILAUEA.

are discovered,—pleasant bays, with sandy shores, a native village, often with its small chapel, and generally with its school, sheltered by groves of palms and cocoa-nut, and the deeper green of the bread-fruit tree; rivers running to the sea, down some of whose cascades the native girls and youths cast themselves with laughter, and take a bath which must exceed any *douche* ever experienced at the severest of our water-cure establishments. At the mountain-foot grassy plains meet the forest, roamed over by herds of cattle, which in many instances have become wild. Coffee plantations and sugar-cane give their verdure to the cultivated districts.

The construction of the islands being essentially volcanic, the character of the scenery depends on that condition. Indeed, it is probable that they are but domes concealing the vast internal fires, and the crust which separates living nature from this great agent of destruction seems in places to be thin enough. Not that it is to be supposed there is any want of permanence in their existence; forests have grown old, and a hundred generations of men have trod the hills and valleys in security. During the late great eruption of Mauna Loa, one of the newspapers published in Honolulu spoke of the volcano as a national institution, of which the inhabitants of the islands were proud, and to which they were, perhaps, almost attached.

The crater of Kilauea is the largest active one in the world. Other volcanoes, of great size, exist in a state of partial or entire quiescence. The crater on Mauna Haleakala (House of the Sun), on Maui, has not been active within the traditions of the people. Its dimensions exceed those of any crater known, being nine miles in diameter, and 2000 feet in depth. Extinct volcanoes are very common. They are of every age, size, and

shape; at some places crowning the summits of lofty hills and mountains; elsewhere rising precipitously from plains, or projecting into the ocean they form prominent landmarks for navigators. The singular promontory, near Honolulu, called Diamond Head, is a well-known instance. One uninhabited island of the group, Molokini, is an extinct crater, crescent-shaped, of slight elevation, with one side open to the sea.

The very remarkable salt lake, named *Aliapaakai*, situated four miles from Honolulu, and one mile inland from the sea, is probably the remains of a volcanic crater. Its form is oval, being about a mile in circuit; its elevation above the ocean is only a few feet, and its general depth but eighteen inches. It is a natural evaporating pan for the production of salt, which forms abundantly on its surface at certain seasons, even to bearing a man's weight on the deposit. The level of the pool is slightly affected by the tides, which appear to act through a hole which exists in its centre, and to which it is said no bottom has been found. If a syphon-like connection is maintained, however, with the sea, it is difficult to understand how the waters of the lake are supported above the general hydrostatic level.

Deep conical pits are met with in the dense forests, which have probably also been craters. These are very dangerous in traversing the woods, their mouths being often concealed by trailing and orchidaceous plants. One member of an expedition which ascended Mauna Loa, in February 1859, to observe the great eruption, lost his life by falling into a cavity of this kind. He was recovered from the pit, but his spine was injured, and he died a few days afterwards. Chasms and ravines also interrupt the forest, the scars of former cosmic convulsion.

In such a volcanic region earthquakes are not un-

common; but they are severe only in Hawaii. At Hilo, in that island, in the year 1838, the earth continued in a state of agitation for two days and nights, causing the plants to tremble, and producing in human beings a sensation of nausea. Forty or fifty shocks occurred in the space of eight days. In 1841, an earthquake more severe was experienced; throwing down large portions of rock from one of the *palis* of sheer cliffs, but not destroying either house or life. Slight shocks in all the islands are not uncommon.

In the Pacific there are various indications of the submarine volcanic action. Ships occasionally feel a blow from beneath, when traversing the deep sea, as if they had struck on ground. Nearer the coast of South America marine geysers occur. From a small circular space vapour is seen ascending, and on entering the circle the water is found to be of scalding heat. The great wave, or rising of the sea which occasionally takes place, and sometimes with lamentable results, is in all probability due to an earthquake below the depths of ocean, producing unusually deep oscillation of the waters. In December 1860, during fine weather with very little wind, the sea gradually rose in the harbour of Kahului, Island of Maui, eight or ten feet above its ordinary high-water level, spreading over the beach, destroying several fences, but doing no further damage. The next morning the sea, though still very full, had greatly subsided in height, but throughout the day the bay was full of rip-tides, and the water boiled as in a kettle. At Maliko, on the same island, the sea ran inland up a little valley, and washed away a small hamlet of ten or twelve native houses, leaving only one standing. As the rising was gradual, the people received warning, and no lives were lost.

In 1746, the town of Callao, Peru, was destroyed by a great wave; and during the present century risings of the sea have occurred three or four times in the Hawaiian Islands. The first, mentioned by Mr. Jarvis, happened in Honolulu harbour, in the year 1809; but that was caused by the bursting of a water-spout. It caused the sea to rise three feet on the beach. In 1819, another oscillation took place, but unattended with any fatal consequences. On the 7th of November, 1837, the sea was observed, at 5 P.M., to be suddenly and rapidly retiring in the harbour of Honolulu. The barometer had not indicated any atmospheric change. The fall was eight feet, and the reefs were left entirely dry. Hundreds of the natives, who are as much at their ease in water as they are on the land, pursued the retreating wave, gathering up fish which were left stranded. The sea then returned, and in about half an hour, had reached the mark of its highest spring-tides. On receding again, it fell six and a half feet. These marine vibrations continued for about twenty hours, gradually diminishing, and then ceased. Their effects in the other islands were more disastrous than at Oahu. On the windward side the phenomena were increased by the trade wind and the tides, which act on the north side of the group with greater force. On Maui, the sea, having retired about twenty fathoms, returned with great speed in one great wave, sweeping before it canoes, houses, trees, and human beings. At Kahului, the inhabitants followed the retreating waters, full of delight; but suddenly they rose like a steep wall, and, returning to the shore, rushed forward, burying the natives in foam, and destroying the whole hamlet. Nevertheless, so perfect is the islander's swimming science that only two persons lost their lives. In Byron's Bay, Hawaii, far more

disastrous events occurred. In consequence of a religious meeting in the village, it was crowded with people. At 6.30 P.M. the sea ran out at the rate of five miles an hour, and left great part of the harbour dry. The multitude gathered eagerly on the beach to witness the unusual spectacle, when a gigantic wave came roaring towards them, at the speed of seven or eight miles per hour, its height being twenty feet above high-water mark, and dashed itself upon the shore with a crash like thunder. The ruin was universal. People, animals, houses, canoes, all property, were mingled entangled, and overwhelmed together—as when the horse and his rider were buried by the Red Sea. Loud wailing and cries of shrill distress were joined with the hiss and roar of the flood, and made themselves heard above it. The water was full of human beings struggling for their lives among the floating wreck, or entangled by it. The great wave had dashed over the deck of an English whaler at anchor in the bay. As soon as her crew recovered from the shock, they lowered their boats and succeeded in saving many lives, for not a canoe had escaped, and numbers of people, stunned and insensible, were being floated seaward. In one hamlet sixty-seven habitations were destroyed, and eleven lives lost. The destruction of food and other property was universal. The wave struck the several islands from the same direction, rendering it probable that the force was generated at a distance from the group. Although the action of the crater of Kilauea, on Mauna Loa, had been unusually furious during the previous night, and new chasms opened in it with violent explosions, no earthquake or terrestrial disturbance was observed.

Of aërial phenomena, it is recorded that, on the 25th of September, 1825, a great shower of meteoric stones

fell at Honolulu, attended with very loud noises. Large fragments struck the ground with such force as to indent deeply the coral rock. Pieces of the stone were found of from fourteen to twenty pounds weight.

The great volcano of Kilauea is situated on the eastern ascent of Mauna Loa, in Hawaii. The crater is generally in activity; but as it never emits smoke, only its moods of anger and of rarer violence are observable from a distance. Several powerful eruptions have occurred in the memory of the present generation. The crater is situated about 4000 feet above the base of the mountain, and is approached by a not very difficult ride. Deep forests have to be traversed, and then rough ground, formed of broken lava, and interrupted by strong rapids and deep ravines. The brink of the gulf being attained, an abyss confronts the spectator too wide and too deep to allow him to see its opposite side or its bottom, except the active portion of matter within, burning and fusing, and hourly changing form. The circumference of the orifice has been variously stated to be six and nine miles, and its depth from 400 to 1000 feet. A gloomy mythology has not let escape so apt an arena without adding her 'supernumerary horror.' This was the dwelling-place of the terrible goddess *Pele*, the most dreaded divinity of the Hawaiian Pantheon. Here, in this fiery abyss, she, with attendant demons, bathed and sported in its sulphurous waves. This, too, was the scene of Christian courage triumphing over material and supernatural terrors, when the converted chiefess, Kapiolani, in the year 1825, dared the anger of the invaded goddess and the dangers of the way, and descended alone into the crater, casting from her hands into the seething lava the sacred berries, as an open act of desecration.

Though no smoke is emitted, a thin vapour arises from the orifice, and by day hangs above it like a silvery cloud. Mr. Hill, who made the ascent of Mauna Loa in 1849, describes the varying effects of the light projected upwards from the crater as day declined to be very beautiful. At a distance of twenty miles from the volcano, he perceived a faint light in the sky when first daylight began to diminish. As darkness increased, the light assumed the appearance of the Aurora borealis in its most fixed condition. When night was complete, the glare, seen from the brow of a hill, was like that of a vast forest in flames; while the vapour, which floated high above the crater, threw down its reflection of the volcanic fire, enhancing the effect by a mirror-like repetition. On reaching the brink of the gulf, lava was seen issuing from a dark cone, apparently in the centre of the pit, and ran down in a vast stream of liquid fire into a bed of luminous vapours. At sunrise the crater assumed a very different appearance. Mr. Hill and his companions turned their eyes from the splendid effects of light, as the two great peaks 'stood up and took the morning,' gathering colour from the unseen orb, and rising into the heavens, as by some magic power, from the abyss of vapours floating lower down, whilst peaks, hills, forests, and deep ravines, caught in succession the sun's beams, till day was again established upon a beautiful earth. They looked into the crater, which nothing could exceed in frightful desolation. By the latest actual surveys, its form is oval, having the length of three miles and a half, and a breadth of two miles and a half, giving a circumference of nine miles. Its height above the sea-level is about 6000 feet. Within, two high back cones rose in the midst of a rude plain of black and pink-coloured lava, rocky substances being

thrown up into hills of no mean dimensions. Around the cones lay a lake of liquid fire, which appeared ready to overthrow the cool beds forming the more even part of the lava plain. A curious fibrous substance, resembling threads of flax, but brittle as glass, is found adhering to the bushes round the banks of the crater. In many places it covers the shrubs like cobwebs. '*Pele's* hair' is the appropriate name given to these fibres found so near the dwelling of that most feared and dread divinity.

Eight hundred feet below the brink of the abyss a ledge of hard lava encircles the changing contents of the volcano. The descent to this ledge is rough and difficult, but not impracticable: it occupied Mr. Hill about half an hour. Continuing on the ledge, and steering by a compass and by recollection of the appearance of the crater from above, he and his companions proceeded for a quarter of a mile, till they were stopped by huge basaltic blocks, confusedly piled up, and rising to the height of three or four hundred feet. Taking a new direction, they again approached the banks of the crater, which they found in one place were formed of immense deposits of pure sulphur. The plain on which they now walked was smoother; but several deep cavities were passed, caused by sinkings of the volcanic matter after cooling. Two more hours of difficult march brought them to the brink of the great lake of liquid fire—'the Stygian lake forlorn'—in the midst of which rose the two remarkable cones they had previously seen. Jets of the seething cauldron were thrown upwards at intervals, and hissing vapour oozed from many fissures in the fixed lava-bed on which they trod, the form of which was continually changing. The appearance of the inner walls of the crater was remarkable, exhibiting irregular patches of calcareous and other earths; and

the whole effect was so illusive, that it was impossible to decide how far the explorers were from the sides. This uncertainty was probably in part caused by heterogeneous vapours mixing at different temperatures, and from the novelty of the whole circumstances. As they gazed, the illusion took an extraordinary form. They seemed to see before them an immense country stretching from the lava-plain at their feet, varied by hills and dales, upon whose slopes flocks of sheep were grazing, whilst cities and villages studded this land of faëry.

The adventurous travellers next descended about one hundred feet, through fissures and by ledges, till they stood beside some small pools of molten elements—detached outposts of the great central, unbroken sea of fire.* Enduring a good scorching, and covering their faces, they were able to dip the ends of their staves into these pools, and the green wood was reduced instantly to ashes. The two great cones, rising high and dark amidst the fiery turmoil, excited their extremest interest. Seeking some means of approaching nearer to them, and proceeding along the ledge of firm lava, they arrived at a sort of natural bridge, or inclined causeway, across the gulf, connecting the ledge with one of the cones. They commenced traversing the ascending causeway, the upper part of which was, in places, a thin, brittle crust, separated from one to five feet from the more solid matter below, and through which upper lamina one of the party fell. When halfway across, they paused to contemplate the terrible scene. At a great depth beneath boiled the fiery pool; above them appeared a huge conduit of unchained fire; and on all sides a region

* It is proper to say that the descent has been frequently made by ladies.

of frightful desolation. The two travellers and their native guide had not long recommenced climbing when their course was suddenly arrested. The infirm lava-crust beneath their feet began to shake ominously, whilst frightful, unearthly sounds from the mouth of the cone pierced their ears. As soon as they were released from the first panic, which transfixed them, they commenced the most rapid retreat in their power along the causeway. But before they had advanced many paces towards the lava-plain, the prelude of mighty blasts changed to cracks of near thunder, and immense masses of hot lava were thrown to a great height. The travellers' immediate danger was that of being crushed by the falling lava, and from this there was no shelter. At first the blocks, issuing perpendicularly, fell back into the crater; but they then began to fall beyond the cone, plunging into the gulf on both sides the causeway, or rolling past the travellers with a terrible impetuosity. Some even fell on their frail bridge, broke through, and were lost beneath it. Through the wild uproar and confusion Mr. Hill and his companions finally reached the firm ledge in safety. Within the general crater, which they explored, there are several more of these volcanic tumuli, some extinct, or active at intervals only. There are on Mauna Loa several other ancient craters, from which, at present, streams of vapour alone issue. The temperature on the mountain varied, during the twenty-four hours, from 17 to 50 degrees Fahrenheit. The many volcanoes on the sides of the sister heights of Mauna Kea are entirely inactive.

From about the middle of 1856, for nearly three years, the volcano continued in a state of more than usual energy. Rivers of lava rolled downwards, through the forest, and over precipices, destroying the native

*kalo* grounds, and rendering villages uninhabitable. They found their way through valleys even to the shore, until in deadly struggle with the waves their course was stayed,—the temperature of the sea being so raised during the conflict as to kill great quantities of fish.

On the 23rd of January, 1859, a great eruption commenced on Mauna Loa. The lava took a northerly direction, rounded the side of another mountain, and by the 28th, had debouched over the plateau and run some distance into the sea; destroying in its way a small fishing village. At the same time an interruption of the trade-wind took place, probably having some connection with the volcanic action. Sight-seers, who are indigenous to all lands, hastened to Hawaii. They were rewarded by a spectacle of indescribable grandeur. The fire rose 250 feet above the crater, taking, sometimes, the form of a cone of flame; at others, that of a *jet de feu*, before which all artificial pyrotechnics would have had to pale their ineffectual fires. The descending lava presented a head of incandescence 200 rods in width, curving over the mountain-sides like a blood-red snake, and occasionally leaping sheer down a *pali*.

On the 9th of February an observing party left the College at Honolulu for the purpose of ascending to the crater. It was one of their number who was killed, as previously mentioned, by falling into a concealed pit in the forest. On the 15th, Capt. Montresor, in H. B. M.'s ship 'Calypso,' conveyed the king and his suite, from Oahu to Hawaii, to observe the phenomena of the eruption. Its first appearance, seen at night from sea, was that of a star having two rays of light depending from it,—a double-comet, in fact,—hanging two-thirds up the mountain-side. Landing at Kaawoloa, or Cook's Bay, the expedition commenced their ascent, and having

passed through a forest seven miles in breadth, emerged on a plateau 5000 feet above the sea-level, affording a good site for observation. By daylight, two great and solemnly moving rivers were seen flowing northward and westward from the crater, with subsidiary streams. Their motion was marked by the sudden ignition of trees, which fell in that short, fiery embrace. The appearance at night is thus described: 'The immense arena; the intense glare of the flows and fissures covering the mountain-side, to the height of some 6000 feet above us, describing horizontal lines and points of molten mineral matter; the sullen glow above the crater and inferior orifices from which the lava issued; the fire and smoke rising from the far-off streams, and those nearer at hand, in which latter, every now and then, the burning trees threw up their wreathed flames, like the arms of an agonised victim—added to the sort of glimmer and twinkle seen on a frosty night, produced a spectacle of such grandeur that words before it become powerless. If on some mountain-side the largest fire that ever devastated San Francisco could be reproduced, and four or five hundred domes, like that of St. Peter's at Rome when illuminated, be dotted about on the slopes below, the general effect might be that of a very pretty miniature on ivory of the eruption on Mauna Loa. Every five minutes or so, some new chasm or torrent shewed itself, comparable at first to the spark of a glow-worm, but suddenly extending like a train of gunpowder.'

Lest this picture should seem to be somewhat deeply tinged with that excusable exaggeration in which new impressions from great natural phenomena often clothe themselves, we will add to it the more scientific account of the eruption given by Professor Alexander,

of the Punahou College. He describes the jet, when first seen by his party, as 300 feet in height; in form and movement exactly like a fountain, and accompanied by immense columns of steam. By day his companions explored the craters. The principal sources of action were two cones, about 150 feet high, composed of pumice and fragments of lava. The suffocating gases which escaped from the red-hot ventholes of these furnaces, rendered it a matter of danger to approach them. At night, the party encamped by a fresh lava-stream, which served well for all cooking purposes. The next morning they followed the central flow from the lower crater, and reached its outlet from its subterranean channel. Its appearance, there, was that of a pool of blood, a few rods in width, boiling up like a spring, and spouting out thick, clotted masses to the height of ten or twenty feet. On the lower side it poured like a cataract of molten metal at white heat, down a descent of about fifty feet, with a roar like that of a heavy surf. Keeping to windward, and protecting their faces with their hats, they approached the brink. The lava appeared almost as fluid as water, and ran with a velocity which the eye could scarcely follow. For several miles the fiery river was a continuous series of rapids and cataracts. They travelled for three or four hours along the edge of the stream. The open part of the canal was from twenty to fifty feet wide; but the stream was really broader, because both its banks were undermined to a considerable distance. Over this part of it, flowing beneath their steps, there were frequent openings, through which they could see the rushing torrent a few inches below their feet. 'To describe the scene,' says Professor Alexander, 'is impossible. For the first time we saw actual *waves* and actual *spray* of liquid lava.

As its surges rolled back from the enclosing walls of rock, they curled over and broke like combers on the reef. There was, besides, an endless variety in its forms. Now we passed a cascade; then a smooth majestic river; then a series of rapids, tossing their waves like a stormy sea; now rolling into lurid caverns, the roofs of which were hung with red-hot stalactites; and then under arches, which it had thrown over itself in sportive triumph.' After pursuing the great stream some miles, it reticulated into so many rivulets, which formed the ground between them into islands, that it required great caution not to be isolated on the latter. The lava often penetrated caves, and blew them up with loud explosions. Where the flow debouched upon the ocean, it filled up a bay, and formed a promontory in its stead. Through the first six months of the year 1859, the volcano continued in unabated activity. ' Among its results, it produced a drought in the district of North Kona, all the wells there having become dry.

When Mr. Ellis* visited Kilauea in 1823, he and his companions observed fifty-one conical crater-islands of various sizes rising round the edge, or from the surface of the burning lake. Twenty-two of these constantly emitted columns of grey smoke, or pyramids of brilliant flame, and several of them vomited streams of lava. The conclusion they arrived at, as to the present formation and condition of the crater was, that it had been originally full to the horizontal black ledge of lava 400 feet below the surface of the ground. From this ledge, the cliffs, composed of strata of ancient lava, rose perpendicularly. This we may call the first or upper crater. The second, or inferior crater, descended from the black

* 'Missionary Tour through Hawaii.' London. 1826, 1827.

ledge some three or four hundred feet, with sloping sides; its floor being the burning lake with extended cones, described above. It was Mr. Ellis's opinion, that this fiery bottom was only a roof or diaphragm, of no great thickness, the upper and solidified portion of incandescent matter of the volcano; and that the liquid mass had quite recently sunk away from it, and found a subterranean outlet to the ocean; inasmuch as the great rising of the sea, previously spoken of, had occurred only three weeks before his visit to the volcano. The pent-up gases and fluid matter found vents through the numerous mammelons, on the upper flooring of the crater. The natives, too, believed that *Pele* had an underground exit from the mountain to the sea; and we know that heathen myths are often poetic renderings of natural facts. There were other symptoms of a great flow of lava about the same time, though unseen. At Kaimu, a village on the south-east coast, about two months previous to Mr. Ellis's arrival, a slight earthquake was felt; and after the tremulous motion, the earth cracked in a fissure, taking a direction from north-by-east to south-by-west, and extending several miles. The fracture was perpendicular, and the chasm not more than two feet in width. Smoke and luminous vapour were emitted from it at the time of the occurrence.

Of the craters on Mauna Hualalai, on the western side of Hawaii, the largest seen by Mr. Ellis was about one mile in circumference, and 400 feet deep. This was extinct at the time of his visit; but in 1800 a great eruption took place from it. On that occasion the stream of lava which flowed from the volcano filled up a bay nearly twenty miles long, and formed a headland, which runs out three or four miles into the ocean.

Adjoining this pit was a much smaller one, from which sulphurous vapour ascended. Sixteen other craters were examined by his party on the same mountain.

On the next island, Maui, lying north-west of Hawaii, is the mountain Mauna Hale-a-ka-la, 'the house of the sun.' A journey on horse of about six hours brings the traveller from the foot of the mountain to the brim of the largest crater in the world. Mr. Cheever, who visited the spot in 1850, says that as he and his party advanced to its edge, there suddenly opened upon them a pit, twenty-five or thirty miles in circumference, and two or three thousand feet deep. They counted in it about sixteen basins of old volcanoes—volcano within volcano. To the north-east and to the south-east two vast openings broke the lava walls; sluice-gates, out of which the molten lava and sand once poured down to the sea. On the sides of the volcanic cones grew large plants of the silver-sword (*ensis argentea*), looking, at that distance from the spectator, like little white pebbles. From the elevated position where the party stood, 10,000 feet above the sea level, the scene was magnificent. Four thousand feet below them was a vast expanse of cloud, like new-fallen snow, rolled in drifts and ridges, and which reflected the sunbeams upwards with dazzling splendour. When this sea of cloud broke, the island of Lanai was seen, lying directly west, over the mountain-tops of Lahaina, themselves having a height of 6000 feet. Trending off to the horizon, a hundred miles, lay the blue Pacific, not seeming far beneath them, but as if lifted up to their own plane of vision.* Rising out of the ocean was the dome of Mauna Loa,

* Edgar Poe gives a graphic description of the effect of the rising of the horizon round an aëronaut as he ascends from the earth in a balloon.

on Hawaii, its snow-capped summit flashing in the sun like a bank of alabaster. The clouds, and their shadows seen on other clouds far beneath, hovered over the blue deep, sometimes seeming to float in it like great icebergs. The extent covered by the vision on each of three sides of the mountain, was at least 200 miles.

The following account of a visit to the crater of Hale-a-ka-la made in 1865, occurs in a letter from Mrs. Mason, wife of the Archdeacon of Lahaina, Maui :—

Early next day we set off and had a lovely, though tiresome journey up to the summit of Hale-a-ka-la. As we went up we passed through the clouds, which we could see as thin mist all round. The rare air made Mr. M. feel sick and faint. It is a very peculiar sensation, a lightness of your head. When we got up I threw myself at the edge of the crater, and gazed my fill. I cannot give an idea of the sight, but it strikes one dumb with awe. You look down many thousand feet of steep declivity into this vast crater. In it are thirteen little craters, which only look like small mounds, but really are mountains of red lava: beneath you are seen clouds floating midway between you and the crater. Sometimes it is clear, and then you see the clouds, floating in at the narrow neck of the crater, wreath themselves into fantastic shapes, and in five minutes fill it. In the distance, tower the Hualalai and the Mauna Kea of Hawaii. The crater looks as though one could walk through it easily, but it takes a week to ride round the mouth of it! The sun sank to rest in a bed of rosy clouds, and was a glorious sight, as was also the young moon rising. We sat up late round a large wood fire, and then slept in a tent; I did not suffer from the cold, though when I rose next day I was reminded of an English frosty morning. It was rather too cloudy to see the sun rise to advantage, but the sight of the vast crater, and those wonderful clouds sailing beneath our feet, amply repaid us for the exertion. We saw several bright meteors flashing, leaving a long trail of light, but they are very common here. One thing struck us, the sense of

stillness. One could feel the silence. Not a sound or sign of life, vegetable or animal, in that vast crater.

From the foregoing accounts of the volcanic condition of the islands, it is possible that some readers, who may have entertained an idea of visiting them, may infer that there is a degree of general instability about the country, and a consequent want of permanence in its institutions. The supposition is a mistaken one; the Hawaiian Islands and their institutions are probably as permanent as other portions of the globe which are removed a little farther from the central fires. And with regard to persons who are not certain about the strength of their nerves, it is by no means incumbent on them to make the actual descent into the crater of Kilauea.*

* From experiments instituted by Arago, Marcet, and others, and lately by observations made in sinking a deep mine at Dukinfield, in which a depth of 2100 feet has been attained, it is well ascertained that a gradually increasing temperature attends the descent from the surface of the earth, and bears at different depths ascertainable ratios to the depression; any irregularities being dependent, apparently, on the different strata pierced, their conducting power for heat, &c. The rate of increase varies from about 1 degree in 50 feet to 1 degree in 100 feet. On this scale, boiling point of water would be reached at a depth of two and a half miles; and at forty miles beneath the earth's surface the deduced temperature would be 3000 degrees, at which heat every metal and every rock would be in a state of fusion. Mr. W. Fairbairn, LL.D., read an interesting paper upon the thermometrical experiments in the Dukinfield mine, at the Manchester Literary and Philosophic Society, in April 1861.

## CHAPTER III.

### CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS—COMMERCE.

THOUGH situated within the tropics, the Hawaiian Islands enjoy a propitious climate; one belonging rather to the temperate than to the torrid zone. There is scarcely a place on the globe which has a temperature so equable as that of Honolulu, one of more desirable register, or where the elements are kindlier mixed. So *invisible* is the subject of weather to the islanders, that Mr. Jarvis remarks their language has no word to express the general idea. The diurnal range of the thermometer in Honolulu, is twelve degrees. During twelve years the extremes of temperature in shade were 90°, and 53°; the entire range during that long period not exceeding 37°. In Canada, near Montreal, about the beginning of March of the year 1861, a variation of 80° occurred in forty-eight hours. The mean temperature of the capital of the islands is about 75°. At Lahaina the thermometrical range in ten years was 32°; viz., from 54° to 86°; and during no day in that period did the variation exceed 19°. What may be called the summer and winter seasons correspond pretty nearly with our own—June being the warmest month, January the coldest. Honolulu, Lahaina, and some other places on the shores, are, from their genial climate, eminently serviceable to invalids suffering from pulmonary complaints. On the leeward

side of the islands, and away from the mountains, little rain falls, and the sun is rarely obscured by cloud. For about nine months of the year the north-east trade-wind blows uninterruptedly; that north-east wind, so dreaded, so disliked, often so fatal, in our own Continent,—'neither good for man nor beast;' but there a wind coming down from the temperate regions, and softened by passing over 2000 miles of ocean. During its prevalence, the leeward side of the islands basks in the 'bright sunny lapse of a long summer day;' inducing by the very beauty of the weather some degree of enervation in the human system, and a corresponding lotus-eating condition of mind. A more bracing air may be obtained by ascending the mountains. A mere ride from the capital up the Nuuanu Valley will give a cooler climate in an hour. Lahaina and some other leeward spots on the shore, possess the refreshing influence of a regular land and sea breeze. Above Lahaina, at an elevation of 3000 feet, is Mountain Retreat, with a temperature varying from 40° to 75°, and at Waimea, Hawaii, the average reading is 64°, the minimum being 48°. But though on the mountains, owing to the nature of the soil, the ground does not remain damp, rains are very frequent; and on the upland region of Kauai, at a height of 4000 feet, fires are required even in the month of July. The vast quantity of vapour absorbed into the atmosphere below, becomes condensed by the masses of the mountains, so that showers and mists are habitual with them, and the two loftiest peaks of Hawaii are rarely free from a belt of cloud. On the windward side of the islands the climate is rougher, and the rain-fall much more abundant. Whatever there is of disagreeable in the weather of the leeward districts, occurs at the time of the change, or rather interruption, of the Monsoon.

Then violent winds sweep through Honolulu, eddying in the streets, and, no doubt, do their work in purifying and dispelling stagnant air and unwholesome exhalations. Rains of a tropical character fall at this season, and also play their part in flushing streets and cleansing hidden corners. But the sybarites of the capital dislike the three months' interval of settled calmness, complain of it, and write little pasquinades on the weather in their newspapers. Sometimes, perhaps, this may not be without cause. One January lately, it rained at Lahaina continually for eight days, and the rain was accompanied by furious squalls from the eastward. A shower that lasts eight days may seem to indicate weather not so genial; but it occurs only at one season. After all, it is not much worse than the climate of Killarney, and is not to be compared with the rains of intertropical India, or to Venezuela, where, according to Humboldt, it rained incessantly for ten months.*

Of the natural productions of the islands, the indigenous Fauna is small. It consists of swine, dogs, rats, and a bat, which, forgetful of the decencies, flies by day. Of birds, domestic fowls appear to be native. In the mountainous region of Hawaii wild geese abound, but do not approach the shore. Snipes, plovers, and wild ducks are found on all the islands. There are only a few species of singing birds; Ellis mentions one with an exceedingly sweet note, resembling that of the English thrush. Some of the birds are remarkable for the beauty of their plumage; a small paroquet of glossy purple, the tropic bird, the feathers of which are used to form the *kahili*, a kind of fan carried near the king

* Ellis gives a meteorological table kept by the American missionaries in Oahu during one year. By this, rain fell on only forty days of the twelve months, and only forty-seven days besides were cloudy.

and chiefs as one of their insignia, and a species of woodpecker, with a variegated plumage of yellow, red, and green, from which the heads of some of the idols and the beautiful cloaks and helmets of the chiefs were made. A bird* inhabits the mountainous parts of the islands having under each wing a single feather of yellow colour, one inch in length. The birds were caught by means of a viscous substance smeared on poles, and the two precious feathers were secured. Of such feathers alone was the *mamo*, or war-cloak, of Kaméhaméha composed. This invaluable mantle was four feet long, and eleven feet and a-half in width at the bottom. Its formation occupied nine successive reigns.

Formerly, no poisonous or noxious reptile was a denizen of the islands, except centipedes; and these were not large in size or numerous. Since intercourse with other nations commenced, however, insects and vermin, the camp-followers of civilisation, have made their appearance. A small lizard was abundant. Few species of insects were found, but they numbered among them some which were destructive to vegetation, particularly a caterpillar, having the native name of *pelua*.

Many varieties of fish frequented the shores, but not in such abundance as in some other groups. The Hawaiians were expert fishermen; and they used, as once was done in Europe, to preserve and fatten fish in tanks or stews. Such perfect confidence had the natives in the water, that one of their amusements was to attack a shark, and after having evaded and taunted him, to kill him with a dagger carried in the *maro* or girdle. On the reef is fished the Sea Slug, or *Bêche de Mer* (*holo-*

* *Melithreptes Pacifica.*

*thuria*), which when dried and prepared forms an important article in the *cuisine* of China: 7135 lbs. of this marine production, in a dry state, were exported in 1864, and the fishery may be profitably increased.

The vegetable kingdom in the islands included among its indigens the sugar cane, the bread fruit, plantain, banana, cocoa-nut, candle-nut, calabash, and other palms; tree-ferns, having the stem fifteen feet in height, and cycas. Valuable timber trees grew in the forests on the flanks of the mountains; the *Kou* tree (*Cordia*), the Koa, and others of hard and heavy wood with a handsome grain. Sandal wood abounded on the heights, but was lavishly cut down as an article of commerce, till the tree was nearly exterminated. Of fruit-bearing trees, shrubs, and flowering plants, there were the *Hibiscus*, *Pandanus odoratissime*, the *Ohia*, a tree producing plentifully a juicy, pulpy, but rather insipid fruit, red, and of the size of an apple; the *Mairi*, a very fragrant plant, from which wreathes were made; the *Ohelo*, a shrub bearing abundantly edible berries, and which belonged in an especial manner to the goddess of the volcano, *Pele*; the prickly pear, &c. Strawberries and raspberries were plentiful on the highlands of Hawaii—their fruit large, but inferior in flavour to the British kinds. From the *Kukui* was obtained a useful oil; from the sweet potato, an intoxicating drink; and they had the *Gardenia* among the flowers with which they were accustomed to adorn themselves. On the whole, however, vegetation was not so bountiful in this group as in the Society Islands.

Three indigenous plants require special notice from their extreme value and importance to the natives. The first is the *taro* (*Arum esculentum*). It formed the staple of their food, and is still very generally used.

This succulent root was sometimes cooked, but was more generally pounded into a semi-fluid mess, and allowed partially to ferment, when it was called *poi*. Among the reasons which made some Hawaiians object to visiting England was that *poi* could not be obtained here. *Poi* requires very industrious cultivation. It is grown in pits or beds, kept very wet; but under diligent culture it is so productive that it has been said, a *taro* pit a few yards in length will supply food for one man throughout the year. Beechey says* that at the time of his visit to the Hawaiian Islands, 'On gaining the heights at Oahu, extensive *taro* plantations were seen filling every valley; and Oahu was distinguished by the name of the Garden of the Sandwich Islands.'

Another esculent *arum*, the mountain *taro*, grows on the higher ground, and in very dry soil. Its value is comparatively little.

The second to be mentioned is the cloth-plant (*Morus papyrifera*), in the native tongue *wauti*. From the inner bark of the young shoots were made the fine and very beautiful cloths for which the islands were famous. The osier-like plants are very carefully tended, and when the rods springing from the roots attained the length of ten or twelve feet, which they did in a year or eighteen months, they were cut, at a certain season; and by careful and delicate processes, the inner bark or liber was separated; and women, sometimes a chiefess and her female attendants, devoted themselves to make from it *tapa*, or cloth, of various degrees of fineness. By beating it with a mallet, having different patterns carved on its four faces, several varieties of cloth were produced. These formed the *pau*, or women's garment,

* 'Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific,' &c., vol. i. 316.

reaching from the waist nearly to the ancles; the *maro*, or narrow cloth worn by the men round the loins; the sleeping-cloths of the chiefs, &c. The people had a method of printing the *tapa* with very beautiful colours, derived from vegetables and earth; and they even scented the somewhat scanty habiliments of the female with sandal wood and pandanus seeds.

The last indigenous plant of importance is the *ti* (*Dracæna*). Its leaves are used in thatching houses and huts, and were also employed for symbolical purposes connected with religion and *tabu*. A branch of this plant was the emblem of peace, corresponding with the olive of Europe. In times of war it was carried, together with a young plantain tree, as a flag of truce. Its lustrous green leaves woven by their stalks formed a short cloak used by the islanders in their mountain journeys. It was planted round inclosures, its intertwined stems forming a valuable permanent hedge. Its roots, large, woody, and fusiform, were baked and eaten. When macerated and fermented there is produced from them an intoxicating drink. Another plant, the *Ava* (*Piper mythysticum*), yields a beverage still more potent, and has been a constant subject of legislation and police. The effects of *ava* do not end in inebriation; it possesses curative powers in disease, and its action, from Beechey's account, is very remarkable in obstinate cutaneous disorders.* Ellis also thinks it an excellent antiscorbutic.

Vancouver, in 1792—93, introduced cattle in the islands; and various useful seeds were given to the natives by that great and generous navigator. From that time foreign animals and plants have been imported. Large herds of cattle are now grazed, and a very profit-

* 'Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, 1831.' Vol. ii. 120.

able trade was, till lately, carried on in supplying the merchant shipping and whalers with beef, which is also exported to California. Flocks, too, are raised, but sheep are not always successful; the temperature of the low-lands being too high for their proper habitude. They answer better in the mountain districts; but the Hawaiians are not fond of the hills as a residence, with their chill and showers. Horses have multiplied since their introduction with extraordinary rapidity. Numbers of them roam about at their own sweet will, breaking fences and treading down crops, having lost a good deal of their equine civilization, and re-entered on a semi-savage state. There is almost a plague of horses in Oahu, and their abundance has encouraged a passion in both sexes for furious riding, dangerous in itself, and to one part of the community very detrimental. It is not to be wondered at that a people whose former delight was in war, who would fight without armour, and make a single battle last eight days; who, at the present time, for their pleasure plunge down waterfalls, swim amongst the breakers that burst over the reefs, and fight sharks in single combat, should seize on a new muscular excitement with animation, and ride the last hobby nearly to death. If nine-tenths of the common horses now on the islands were destroyed it would prove a great advantage to the inhabitants.

The table of Inland Revenue for 1860 gives 27,663 horses returned for taxation; and we may conclude the actual number to have been greater, when we consider the nature of the return. If to the horses be added 2781 mules, we have one animal to nearly every two persons in the Hawaiian Islands. The value of horses fluctuates a good deal: sometimes they fetch a fair price, up to about a hundred dollars. The supply must

occasionally exceed the demand; and a sale of stock was noticed in the 'Polynesian' lately, in which a mare and two fillies were sold for *a quarter of a dollar*—about one shilling! A moderate price for horse-flesh in any country.

Among exotic plants introduced, the most important are the coffee-tree, cotton, indigo, tobacco, wheat, the Irish potato, cocoa, the grape-vine, orange, citron, melon, cucumber, pine-apple, fig, tamarind, guava, and various fruits; beans, onions, cabbages, pumpkin, and other vegetables. Coffee has thriven well, and forms a valuable article of export from the islands, where there are now large, well-cultivated plantations. The berry is of a fine kind, but for a few years past a blight, produced by an insect of the *coccinea* tribe, has injured the trees and greatly reduced the crop. Indigo grows freely, and some specimens or samples of the dye have been sent to Hamburg; but the article was badly made and the quality was too inferior to encourage its manufacture. The silk-worm may some day be tended successfully, and the mulberry flourishes well. Wheat and potatoes thrive on the uplands of Maui; the sweet potato is indigenous.

Commerce is carried on to some extent with most parts of the world. About four-tenths of the imports are from the Atlantic side of the United States, and about one-fourth is from the Pacific coasts of North America. Great Britain stands next in order; then Hamburg and Bremen; China and Japan each send their contingent of merchandise; France furnishes her wines and brandy; and by the custom-house returns for the year 1860, goods were entered at Honolulu from Vancouver's Island, the Russian possessions, Tahiti, Chili, and some other places. Guano was brought from

the Chincha Islands, and from some islands named Baker's and Jarvis's, a few days' sail from Hawaii.

The commerce of the islands was formerly dependent in a great measure on the whaling trade of the North Pacific. A large quantity of oil and bone is landed and re-exported. In 1860, the transhipments of oil from Honolulu and Lahaina were 829,945 gallons, and of whalebone 571,966 lbs. The total number of whalers entering Hawaiian ports in that year was 325 vessels; but several ships made their appearance at more than one port, and are entered for the spring and fall seasons. The actual number of separate whalers engaged during the autumn or fall of 1860 was 132; of which nine belonged to the Hawaiian Islands, and 113 were American owned. The fishery had been comparatively an unsuccessful one. In the previous year the quantities of oil and bone had respectively exceeded those of 1860 by 86,256 gallons of the former article, and 20,522 lbs. of the latter. The total number of whalers visiting the Hawaiian ports in 1859 was 549 visits, against 325 visits in 1860. The failing of the 'catch' in the North Pacific does not appear to be a temporary fluctuation, but has indicated itself for three successive seasons. The whales appear to have been over-fished—a consequence of the great profits made by vessels employed in this trade in the previous years—and to have migrated to other seas.

In 1864, the whaling trade was still farther diminished. The whole number of visits in Hawaiian ports was 140; and the transhipments were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sperm oil . . . . | 33,860 | gallons |
| Whale oil . . . . | 608,502 | gallons |
| Bone . . . . . | 339,381 | lbs. |

Of domestic exports (exclusive of oil and bone) sugar,

wool, hides, and coffee are the most important. The following table shows the nature and quantities of Hawaiian productions shipped at Honolulu in 1864 :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sugar | 10,414,441 lbs., or 4,649 | tons |
| Molasses and syrup | 340,436 | gallons |
| Coffee | 50,083 | lbs. |
| Pulu* | 643,437 | lbs. |
| Hides | 355,651 | lbs. |
| Beef | 64 | barrels |
| Poi† | 271 | barrels |
| Salt | 729 | tons |
| Flour | 1,298 | barrels |
| Sweet potatoes | 419 | barrels |
| Fungus‡ | 368,835 | lbs. |
| Horses | 5 | |
| Mules | 24 | |
| Wool | 196,667 | lbs. |
| Tallow | 189,700 | lbs. |
| Whale and Sperm oil | 131,383 | gallons |
| Whalebone | 45,402 | lbs. |
| Goat skins | 32,333 | |
| Horns | 6,610 | |
| Tobacco | 500 | lbs. |
| Pumpkins | 475 | |
| Paddy | 105,320 | lbs. |
| Rice | 319,835 | lbs. |
| Corn | 78,455 | lbs. |
| Cotton | 2,518 | lbs. |
| Tapioca | 7,688 | lbs. |
| Pia | 100 | lbs. |

* A silky substance, collected from the trunks of the large tree-ferns which abound on the island of Hawaii. It has been used for centuries by the natives for making pillows and mattresses, and is now exported to California and British Columbia for the same purpose.

† Preparation from the *taro* root.

‡ Used as an article of food by the Chinese.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pork | 11 | barrels |
| Bones | 20½ | tons |
| Bêche de Mer | 7,135 | lbs. |
| Oranges | 61 boxes and 61,000 | |
| Limes | 27 packages and 77,000 | |
| Coker-nuts | 17,491 | |
| Bananas | 14 packages and 1,784 | bunches |
| Tamarinds | 6 casks and 164 | lbs. |
| Sugar cane | 20 bundles and 500 | sticks |
| Pea-nuts | 18 | bags |
| Pine-apples | 500 | |
| Taro | 6 | casks |
| Chinese Edible Roots | 166 | packages |
| Butter | 220 | lbs. |
| Bread | 572 | lbs. |
| Soap | 600 | lbs. |
| Rags | 1,696 | lbs. |
| Koa Wood | 600 | feet |
| Sandal Wood | 6,008 | lbs. |

Besides curiosities and sundries.

The supplies furnished in the course of the year to the shipping which visited the port, are estimated at $113,100 value.

In 1860, the whole commerce of the country showed a decrease on the preceding year—the defect arising from a less successful whaling season, a drought affecting the sugar plantations, and a blight in the coffee-trees. The total value of the imports in 1859, was $1,555,558; in 1860, $1,223,749; showing a falling off of a quarter of a million of dollars. The export trade suffered also, but in a smaller ratio. In 1859, the value of goods exported was $931,329; in 1860, $807,459; exhibiting a decrease in value of $123,870.

The causes which led to a decline in Hawaiian commerce were natural ones, and temporary; whilst increas-

ing relations with California, British Columbia, China, and Japan, are opening out new markets of export and import. So that in 1864, the total imports had increased again to $1,712,241; and the exports, of still greater importance to the prosperity of the country, had grown up to $1,113,329. The following table, derived from the custom-house statistics, shows the value and origin of imports in 1864:—

VALUE OF GOODS PAYING DUTY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From the United States, Pacific side | $519,243 | 09 | |
| „ the United States, Atlantic side | 99,966 | 32 | |
| „ Bremen | 183,872 | 15 | |
| „ Great Britain | 86,049 | 60 | |
| „ Vancouver's Island | 54,153 | 47 | |
| „ the Sea | 9,187 | 13 | |
| „ the Islands of the Pacific | 16,822 | 55 | |
| „ Mexico | 537 | 50 | |
| | | | $969,831 81 |

VALUE OF GOODS AND SPIRITS BONDED.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From the United States, Pacific side | $32,880 | 57 | |
| „ the United States, Atlantic side | 119,134 | 51 | |
| „ Bremen | 45,607 | 66 | |
| „ Great Britain | 1,134 | 44 | |
| „ Vancouver's Island | 17,046 | 36 | |
| „ the Sea | 291,959 | 10 | |
| „ the Islands of the Pacific | 7,392 | 99 | |
| „ Sitka | 22,682 | 70 | |
| „ France | 156 | 37 | |
| | | | $537,994 70 |

VALUE IMPORTED FREE OF DUTY.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By animals | $958 00 | |
| „ curiosities | 65 00 | |
| „ diplomatic representatives | 2,888 02 | |
| „ goods, old and in use | 3,920 62 | |
| „ Hawaiian Government | 3,710 49 | |
| „ „ whalers | 93,728 79 | |
| „ foreign | 9,481 44 | |
| „ His Majesty | 2,014 00 | |
| „ machinery | 55,491 00 | |
| „ pig and plate iron | 4,834 02 | |
| „ pictures | 1,036 45 | |
| „ plants and seeds | 202 50 | |
| „ returned cargo | 1,591 41 | |
| „ specie | 112,782 48 | |
| „ Steam Navigation Company | 4,071 42 | |
| „ sundries by permission | 3,653 19 | |
| „ tools, specific use | 1,691 01 | |
| „ statuary | 125 00 | |
| | | $189,462 36 |
| | | $1,697,288 87 |

| | Free. | Dutiable. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imports at Lahaina | $1,006 23 | $853 64 | |
| „ Hilo | 2,491 34 | 10,240 38 | |
| „ Kauai | 346 39 | 14 76 | |
| | 3,843 96 | 11,108 78 | |
| | | 3,843 96 | |
| | | | $14,952 74 |
| Total | | | $1,712,241 61 |

About 1000 of the natives are usually absent from their country, engaged in the whaling trade at sea, or on the guano islands of the Pacific.

The average passage of sailing vessels, from San Francisco to Honolulu, between the 1st of October and

1st of January, is sixteen days; the average voyage from Victoria, Vancouver's Island, is twenty-seven days; from Kanagawa, Japan, twenty-six days; and from Hong-Kong, sixty-seven days and a half.

The merchant-fleet under the Hawaiian flag, in 1860, consisted of one steamer, the *Kilauea*, of 414 tons burthen and 100-horse power; eleven whalers, with a total tonnage of 2303 tons; seven foreign traders, aggregate, 1426 tons; and thirty-two coasters, schooners, and sloops, together 1475 tons. The Government owns a steam-tug, the *Pele*, of 30-horse power.

In 1864, the number of Hawaiian-owned merchant-vessels calling at all the ports of the islands was forty-four, tonnage 8982 tons; foreign ships 270, tonnage 141,804 tons: of which thirty-six vessels were English and 200 were American. Of ships of war visiting Hawaii two were British and four were Russian.

Treaties of commerce exist between Hawaii and the following nations:—Great Britain and France, made in 1846; Denmark, in 1846; Hamburg, in 1848; United States, in 1850; Bremen, in 1851; Sweden and Norway, in 1852; new treaty with Great Britain, in 1851; new treaty with France, in 1857. In 1860, the admiral commanding the Russian fleet in the Pacific visited Honolulu, and a treaty with Russia will probably result from the communications which then took place; probably, also, with Japan, the ambassadors of which nation stayed at Honolulu for nearly a fortnight, on their way to Washington.

The Hawaiian Government is represented by consular agents in Great Britain, France, Italy, Chili, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, and the Russian settlements on the Amoor.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OUR ROYAL CITY OF HONOLULU.

MOST of the views which we have seen of the city of Honolulu have this grave fault, that they have evidently been taken before the city was erected. They usually represent a good deal of mountain in the background, and in front a large expanse of water;—the harbour, bearing upon it a considerable amount of shipping;—but they omit the buildings. The photographic view of Honolulu, from which the wood-cut given in this volume is taken, is comparatively modern; but even this scarcely gives the idea of a city containing 12,000 inhabitants,—the metropolis of the North Pacific. It rather recalls those pictures we are so accustomed to in our water-colour exhibitions, where, under the catalogue name of 'View of Calais, with Fishing-Boats,' we see a brilliantly coloured *chasse-marée* occupying the foreground, and the town of Calais represented in a small corner by a white windmill and a couple of boarding-houses.

Few cities have a more noble situation than Honolulu. In approaching it from the south-west, the island of Oahu presents a very picturesque appearance. A chain of lofty hills, stretching from north-west to south-east, is the most prominent object inland. A remarkable point of land closes in the bay at its lower extremity.

THE HARBOUR, HONOLULU.

It is a long hill, truncated above; which, while it shows seaward a peak, named Diamond Head, when seen from the town, or from the south-eastern direction at sea, looks like a straight, detached ridge, a little elevated at its end. The particular form of this promontory results from its volcanic origin. Another remarkable hill of the same character, crowned with a battery, guards the entrance of the smaller bay which forms the harbour of Honolulu. At the foot of the mountains extends a fertile plain, ten miles in length, and, in parts, two miles in width from the sea to the base of the hills. On this plain Honolulu is built. The remarkable shapes of the mountains, torn by ravines or divided by green valleys, and of the plain also, unmistakeably speak the fiery agencies which produced them. Those agencies were exerted at a very ancient period. The substratum of the plain is a deposited calcareous rock, containing bones of animals and fish, marine shells, and branches of white coral. This rock is hardest at its upper extremity, and becomes softer and more porous as its depth increases. Above the chalk lies a layer of fine volcanic ashes and cinders; and over all a rich alluvial soil of the depth of two or three feet. By boring little more than a dozen feet into the chalk stratum excellent water is obtained. It is a remarkable circumstance that though the water in the wells rises and falls with the tide,—showing that it reaches them by infiltration from the sea—it is never salt or brackish to the taste. The city is, therefore, blest with great 'water privileges,' and a corresponding facility for drainage. It is built round the harbour, which possesses quays and warehouses, and slips for heaving up and repairing ships. Near it are the custom-house, and a large building containing the public offices. There is also the fort, which, at

the time of Beechey's visit, mounted forty guns; but has now been dismantled, and applied to other government uses.

The central portion of the town consists of regularly laid out streets, many of the houses standing within gardens. There are two stone churches, belonging to the American Congregationalists; a Native church; and the Roman Catholic Cathedral. A distinguishing feature of Honolulu is, that this large town is built without a single chimney:—a cheerful city, under its brilliant, unclouded sky; the blue sea spreading at its feet, with a silvery line of breakers on the distant reef. The masts of shipping in the port rise into view above the spreading roofs of the houses and stores; the flags on the fort and at the consulates flutter in the fanning breeze; and the sound of hammers,—welcome indication and type of industry,—comes from the shipyards of the harbour. People of all nations are meeting in the wide streets; English, American, French, German, Chinese, South Polynesians, are represented here; busy with commerce, with politics, with dinner at the very excellent hotels, or, in that rest-inviting climate, busy doing nothing. The Queen's Hospital is to be visited; or a salute from the battery on Punch-bowl Hill announces that a foreign man-of-war,—in the neater American form, a national ship,—has arrived. Numbers of Hawaiians, more or less in European dress, fill the streets, giving a smile and the cheerful *aloha*, or greeting, as they pass you. Women bring in plantains, and oranges, or the delicious *chirimoya*, from gardens; vegetables, and fish, and *taro* roots. The younger women, though they have thrown off idolatry and thrown on some clothes, must still crown themselves with flowing chaplets as of old. They have discarded many things,

but cannot abandon that graceful taste and appreciation of nature which led them to deck themselves,—both sexes occasionally,—with perfumed and many-coloured blossoms, formed in elegant wreaths.

Look, too, at these large placards; the Royal Hawaiian Theatre is open this evening. Great stars are announced,—brilliant stars; though, like those of the Southern Cross, unknown in our northern hemisphere. The Equestrian Circus also invites to its new and amazing 'acts,' and it will not be left empty by a people so devoted to horse-flesh. See, now, even whilst we speak, how many riders of both sexes the eye takes in, as one looks along the road! and we must take care that we are not ridden down, for the police, with all their care, cannot prevent the inconvenience of occasional racing in the streets. There seems an unusual stir in the streets to-day; a greater than ordinary crowd. Many country people are flocking in; and that salute meant something more than the arrival of a national ship in the harbour. Let us walk onward, and inquire what this gala appearance means: for flags are flying, and we hear music at a distance. We can inquire here at the office of the 'Hawaiian Gazette,' an excellently conducted weekly newspaper, and the Government official or semi-official organ. Nearly *vis-a-vis* is the bureau of the 'Commercial Advertiser,' also a weekly journal, in English, devoted to the interests of the American missionaries; and claiming, by its generally adverse criticisms on ministers and measures, to occupy, in the room of any senatorial body, the place of 'His Majesty's Opposition.' The same party have also a monthly publication, of many years' standing, 'The Friend.' We remark, in passing, that two newspapers in the vernacular make their appearance

in Honolulu,—the '*Hae Hawaii*,' weekly, and the '*Hokuloa*,' monthly; a third paper, upon liberal principles, has lately been added, named 'The Star of the Pacific.'

The animation of the capital is soon accounted for; it is the 9th of February, and the King's birthday, who completes this morning his twenty-seventh year.* We learn that there has been already a reception at the Palace. His Majesty was attended by his executive and judicial officers; the members of the Privy Council; the Governors of Oahu and Maui; his Aides-de-camp, &c. And first, the Chancellor and Chief-Justice approached, and in the name of himself and his fellows of the ermine robe offered, in a few loyal and pious words, sincere congratulations on the day. Then the diplomatic body arrived, headed by M. Perrin, who, as senior of the foreign representatives, presented, in French, their felicitations. General Miller, the British Commissioner, being absent from the islands, sent a written address, which was read by the King's Foreign Minister. The Consular body next expressed the kind feelings of their respective governments. The King replied, severally, to the addresses, shortly, and with that good taste which characterises His Majesty's communications.

As the day advances the town puts on a completely gala look. It announces for itself a national holiday; covers itself with flags; fires more salutes; and expatiates in picnic parties, in races, in amusements. Now we see a procession coming from the direction of the Palace. After the judiciary and foreign services had had their audience, the King received a very important

* This passage was written in 1862. The scene is allowed to remain without shifting, but death has made sad havoc with the actors, in the interval.

domestic body,—the Fire Department of Honolulu; the members of which, after passing before His Majesty, tersely expressed their joy in three hearty cheers. In the United States, the functions of the community for protecting their cities from fire have been wisely elevated into an unpaid and honourable service. The citizens who thus band themselves together against fire as a threatening enemy, are actuated in the same manner as our Rifle Volunteers, and evince a similar corporate spirit. The Hawaiians have adopted the same organization of Fire Companies, and hold them in the same honour as in the States. Now the procession appears. Three Engine Companies, with engines and hose-carts; and one 'Hook-and-Ladder' Company, with fire-wardens and engineers, all in uniform; and the engines decked with flowers, ribbons, and flags. A boy rides on each engine, buried among the blossoms, like a young Love; and on the carriage of the 'Hooks,' beneath a floral canopy, sit two pretty children, in gala dress; but whether to impersonate the genius of fire and water, or lively to represent a 'hook' and a 'ladder,' is left undetermined. The city numbers four Fire Companies; and 140 of their associated members are now doing honour to their sovereign.

Whilst the 140, and some other guests, after their progress through the streets of Honolulu, are gone to lunch in the rooms of No. 1 Engine, let us direct our steps to the Palace, which they have lately left. The reception is over; and we guess, by some *vivas* at a distance, that the royal family are driving, and are coming this way. Preceded by two outriders, in an open carriage, —the most elegant that London can turn out—sits the Queen,—fair and young, with an engaging expression of face. Her *embonpoint* makes Her Majesty appear

some years older than she really is. A noble boy, the Prince of Hawaii, sits opposite his mother; and the King, on horseback, in a field-marshal's uniform, follows the carriage. Very heartfelt are the *alohas* which greet the modest *cortége* as it passes.

We enter the open gates of the Palace enclosure and find ourselves in a garden, or pleasure-grounds, of about an acre, with an avenue leading through it formed by the deep green-leafed *kukui* and *koa* trees. A flight of steps leads to a large hall, decorated in the European style. Portraits of King Louis Philippe and his queen, presented by the French monarch to Kaméhaméha III., hang on the walls; and also a likeness of the late Admiral Thomas, for whom, as the medium through which the sovereignty of the islands was restored to their own rulers, after Lord George Paulet's possession of them, the Hawaiians have always entertained feelings of the deepest regard. Vases and miniature copies of some of Thorwaldsen's works ornament the hall. The left wing of the small, sunny Palace is occupied by the throne-room. This apartment has a completely European air, and resembles a drawing-room in London or Paris, with the addition of a decorated chair at one of its sides, the modest throne of the dynasty—

'Simplex munditiis.'

Another room contains a very beautiful billiard-table, also a present from the late King of the French; and the present Emperor,—not behind his predecessor in making rich donations,—has recently sent the King a large service of silver.

'On a small scale,' said King Kaméhaméha III. to Mr. Hill, when the latter was presented to him in 1849, 'I am endeavouring to do, with the blessing of God, what Peter the Great, of Russia, did on a large scale.'

Suffice it to say of the Palace, without tedious description, that it is appropriate, and is in proportion to the kingdom and the capital of the islands; and in this it differs from the royal residences in some of the small German States, where the palace occupies half the town, and its gardens a quarter of the territory.

And now to horse; and let us do what several others are already doing this afternoon, ride over the plain behind Honolulu, and up the Nuuanu valley. There we shall be refreshed and invigorated by the moving air breathed at a higher elevation. The road leads across the plain, which is level and fertile, but shows the scars of ancient disturbance in some occasional ravines. Proceeding along this highway, which is in places planted with trees and dotted with houses and villas, we reach, at less than a mile's distance, the hills, rising on each hand, and forming at their interspace the winding vale through which a river reaches the sea. The mouth of the valley, says Mr. Ellis, which opens immediately behind the town, is a complete garden, carefully kept by its respective proprietors in a state of high cultivation; and the ground being irrigated by the water from a river that winds rapidly down the valley, is remarkably productive. The valley rises with a gradual ascent; and after walking about three miles through an unbroken series of plantation, it becomes gradually narrower, and the mountains rise more steeply on either side. The scenery is romantic and delightful. The bottom of the valley is gently undulated; and a rapid stream takes its serpentine way from one side of it to the other, sometimes wandering along with an unruffled surface, at other times rushing down a fall of several feet, or dashing and foaming among the rocks that interrupt its progress. The sides of the hills are clothed with

verdure; even the barren rocks that project from among the bushes are ornamented with pendulous or creeping plants of various kinds; and in several places beautiful cascades leap down the steep mountain's side into flowing rivulets beneath. The beauty of the scenery increases, until at length, after walking some time on a rising ground rather more steep than usual, and through a thicket of *hibiscus* and other trees, the wanderer suddenly emerges into an open space, and as he turns round a small pile of volcanic rocks, the famous *Pali*, or precipice, bursts upon him with an almost overpowering effect. The distance of this remarkable spot from the city is seven or eight miles. Immense masses of black and ferruginous rock, many hundred feet in height, and nearly perpendicular, present themselves on both sides to his sight, while immediately before him, he looks down the fearful steep, and beholds hills and valleys, trees and cottages, wandering streams and winding paths, cultivated plantations and untrodden thickets, and a varied landscape many miles in extent, bounded by lofty mountains on the one side and the white-crested waves of the ocean on the other, spread out before him as if by the hand of enchantment. The natives ascend the precipice from the northern side, the height being about 500 feet, sometimes carrying considerable weights; but the ascent and descent are difficult.* In two places near the highest edge the rocks rise with an apparently perpendicular and even projecting point, which, it seems to the traveller, im-

* A contributor to the 'Commercial Advertiser' gives a graphic description of a party of women he met several miles north of Honolulu, who were bringing to market an immense hog which they had fattened, and which he estimated to weigh nearly 500 lbs. This unwieldy animal had to be carried up the *pali* by the five or six females who had charge of it.

possible to surmount. Two idols stood beside the path, in former days tutelars of the dangerous pass. These were propitiated by those intending to descend the *pali* by a garland of flowers, a piece of *tapa* (cloth), or the oblation of a green bough only: whilst those who had effected the ascent in safety, made an acknowledgment of a similar kind for the supposed protection which they had received from these idol deities. The lines which separate piety and superstition are not strongly marked; and if the heart were grateful, it wanted but additional light as to the object of adoration to convert a heathen impulse into a Christian act of devotion. Ellis makes a remark which shows an enlightened tolerance and moderation not always mingled with missionary zeal. He says his converted native guides used to overturn or break these presiding idols, which are found at all dangerous passes, or they would roll them down the *pali*:—'but their conduct was never the consequence of our directions, and seldom received our approbation; for we were not desirous to become inconoclasts: our object was rather to enlighten the minds of the people, to lead them to the exercise of a better faith, and the adoption of a purer worship.' He probably even thought that till the true sunlight had risen on their night they had better not extinguish the taper which was their only guide.

The Pali of Nuuanu was an important strategic position, and is a spot of historical celebrity. Several battles have been fought in its neighbourhood; and in 1790, it was the scene of the last battle fought between the King of Oahu and the great warrior Kaméhaméha I., who had invaded his island, and who finally subdued the whole group under his single sovereignty. The King of Oahu, with his ally Kaeo, King of Kauai and Niihau,

had assembled his forces a few miles north-west of Honolulu. His army having been defeated in an engagement with the invader's forces, and Kaeo slain, he retreated to the valley of Nuuanu, where he was joined by an ambitious chief of Hawaii, named Taiana. Taking their stand two miles from the precipice, they awaited the victorious Kaméhaméha; but they could not resist the momentum of the body of his troops. The King of Oahu fell, and his broken army was chased wildly up the valley. Once more rallied by the warlike Taiana, the patriots turned to bay. Before them were the war-gods of the enemy, behind them the sheer destruction of the *pali*. Taiana fell. After the death of their chiefs, Despair was the leader of that gallant and diminished band. What was in man's command they did. Four hundred warriors were driven headlong over the precipice and dashed to pieces at its base among the rocks. The rest of the little army was entirely routed, and Kaméhaméha the conqueror was left undisputed sovereign of the island.

In the month of March 1860, the city of Honolulu was startled out of its proprieties by the arrival of the Japanese Embassy, on its way to Washington. The sudden influx of eighty distinguished foreigners was an event sufficient to tax the resources of etiquette. Baron Merten and Elliot were consulted. All that the former authority affords of the usages observed at a solemn audience given to an ambassador or nuncio of the Pope was digested, and made the groundwork of the reception of these Eastern visitors. The royal *remise* was searched, and every practicable carriage found therein was sent down, together with a guard of honour, to escort to the Palace the two Ambassadors and their suite, with Admiral Tattnall, commanding the United States East

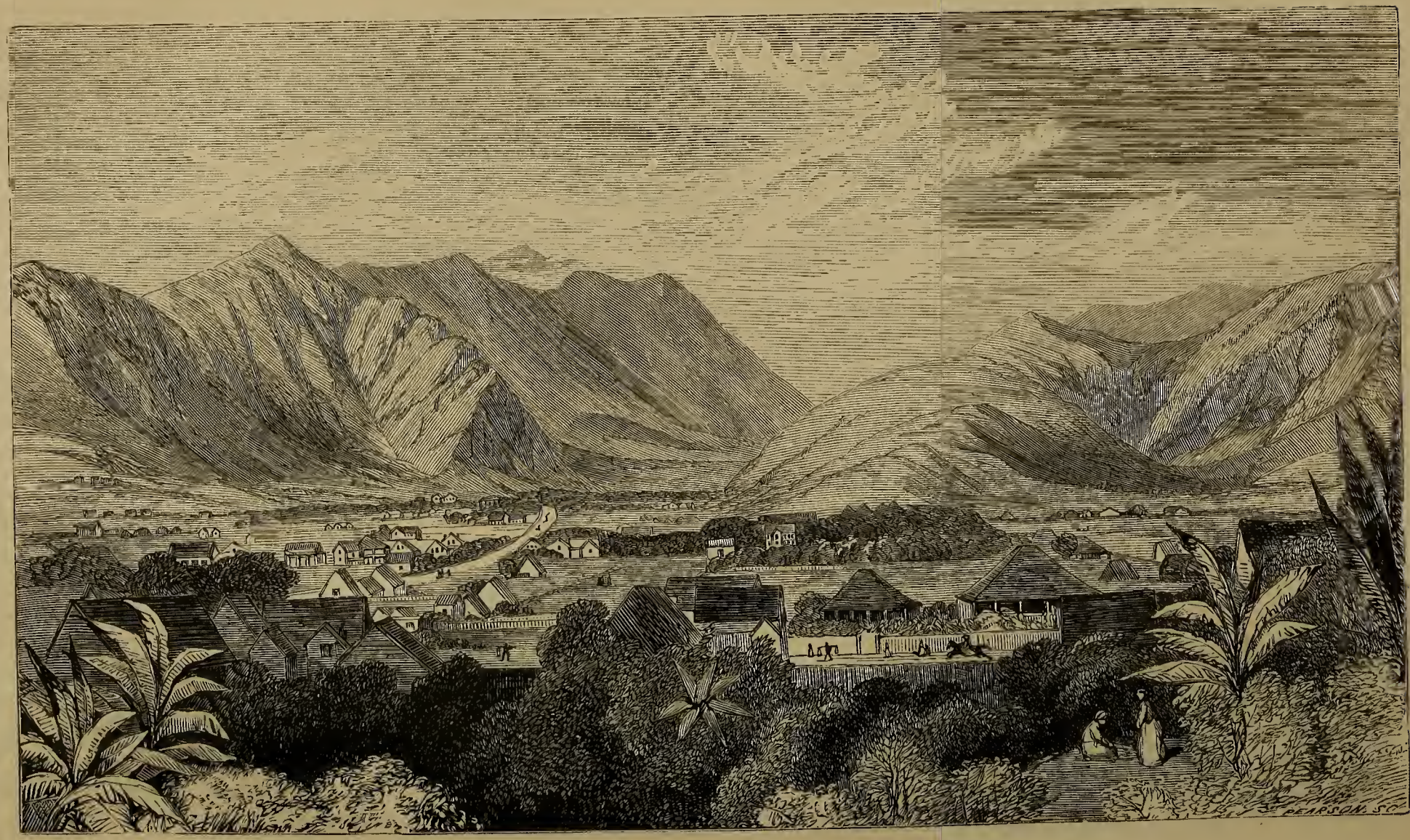
India squadron, Captain Pearson, and the other officers of the Powhattan steam frigate. The civilities on each side were completely *en règle*. An audience of the servants of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan was appointed for two o'clock of the 9th of March. On the arrival of the United States officers at the Palace grounds, they were received at the lower gate by the King's household troops on duty, and at the Palace stairs by the Honolulu Rifles. The gallant Admiral and suite, having been introduced by Mr. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, were presented to the King by the United States Commissioner, Mr. Borden. The Legation from the Tycoon then arrived, and was received at the foot of the stairs by Mr. Wyllie and other officers of the King. His Majesty welcomed them to his Court; and the Ambassadors expressed their acknowledgments,—the conversation being conducted in Dutch, with the assistance of an English interpreter. The King then retired; and Her Majesty Queen Emma entered the throne-room, accompanied by the Princess Victoria, and attended by her ladies and maids of honour, and with her usual grace received the Ambassadors and the officers, asked their impressions of her country, &c.; and the ceremonies terminated.

The high courtesies were continued the same afternoon. The Ambassadors sent, through the American Commissioner, some presents to the King. In acknowledging these, the Foreign Minister was 'happy to have the opportunity of again assuring their Excellencies of the very high respect and very distinguished consideration with which he had the honour to be,' &c.; and a few days later, the Minister wrote a despatch, in which the King proposes that a treaty should be at once made, conditionally on after ratification, 'of perpetual

friendship, commerce, and navigation,' between Japan and Hawaii. To this despatch, Sinmi Bozenno Cami, First Ambassador; Mooragaki Awageno Cami, Second Ambassador; and Ogooli Bungono Cami, First Associate and Remembrancer,—being three princes,—reply, on 'the 25th day of second month of the seventh year of Ansey,'—a date difficult for the historian to synchronise with our own era, but probably shortly after Mr. Wyllie's despatch,—that they could not conclude such a treaty under their powers, and that, therefore, the despatch would be forwarded to Japan.

Not but that the two-sworded princes were ready 'to swear eternal friendship on the stairs;' for they received the kindest hospitality from the King, who placed his house in Beritania Street at the disposal of the Ambassadors, and his marine villa at the command of the Admiral. The following sequence of adjectives will describe the Japanese Embassy,—quick, intelligent, and inquisitive; possessed of a curiosity constant and vivacious; polite, affable, and patient under the corresponding curiosity exhibited by the Hawaiians towards them. They inspected every object, inquired into it, described it, and sketched it,—an accomplished draughtsman forming one of the suite.

Other calls of ceremony and of kindness having been made, the Japanese, after a stay in the islands of about ten days, prepared to depart; and a P.P.C. audience was held at the Palace. If Austria piques herself on the Vienna code of etiquette, she will learn in Japan a transcendental *rigueur* which quite eclipses her own. The First Ambassador commenced a graceful acknowledgment of all the attentions shown to himself and his suite; and having spoken two or three sentences, he was so overcome by his feelings,—no doubt at the




ENTRANCE TO THE NUUANU VALLEY, HONOLULU.

exact place indicated in his instructions,—that his voice shrank up to a piping treble, and he had to conclude his speech in a suffocating whisper. So contagious is deep feeling, that all the suite were affected in the same manner and at the same moment, and could only whisper their adieux, interrupted by their sighs.

And so they departed.

## CHAPTER V.

### DERIVATIONS OF THE HAWAIIAN RACE—TRADITIONS OF.

FEW persons, probably, who walk in Greenwich Park, realize to themselves, as they pass Flamsteed House, that they have stepped from one hemisphere of the globe into another. Yet the meridian of zero is of great geographical importance; and the line which bisects the earth longitudinally gives us the definite idea of an eastern and a western world. Great Britain is contained in the western hemisphere; for the convenience of which statement, we overlook the kingdom of Kent, the Eastern Counties, etc., which lie eastward of this imaginary line. And since the western world is *our* world, the Hawaiian Islands claim to have a geographical kindred with us, for they, too, are situated in the western hemisphere.

From the east or from the west the population of those islands has been derived; the only other solution of the question of origin being that of 'Centres of Creation,' a hypothesis which finds favour in the United States. We do not enter upon this theory; but seek in personal similitude, in analogies of language and institutions and in cherished traditions, to identify the Hawaiians with one of the divisional races of men, and to trace the steps across the ocean by which they arrived in this small archipelago.

The inquiry assumes larger proportions when we find

that it involves the derivation of the red inhabitants of the American Continent, between whom and the Pacific islanders there are points of resemblance.

Stephens came to the conclusion, moreover, that there was a unity of race throughout the continents of America, and that the present Indian nomads represent the old city-builders of Yucatan and Central America. A fact supporting this view may be noticed here. Stephens relates that in removing some of the large flat stones that faced buildings, there was frequently found on the plaster beneath, the impression of a small outspread hand. When Catlin exhibited his Indian Museum in London, some years ago, there was to be seen on the buffalo leather, of which the tents were formed, the print of *a small outspread hand*, which had been dipped in red pigment and pressed upon the leather. Thus this sort of crowning *imprimatur* on the plaster of the ancient buildings and on the tents of the living race, the size and the attitude of the hand being similar, may go for a small but ancillary proof of identity between the past and present inhabitants of America; who, nevertheless, need not be strictly its autochthones, but may have arrived on the continent by an ancient immigration. The points of resemblance mentioned by Ellis between the aborigines of the mainland and of the Pacific Islands, are 'their modes of war, instruments, gymnastic games, rafts or canoes, treatment of their children, dressing their hair, feather head-dresses of the chiefs, girdles, and particularly the *tiputa* of the latter, which in shape and use exactly resembles the *poncho* of the Peruvians.'

There seems also some resemblance traceable in the building of parallel walls, which have been found in Hawaii as well as in Central America. Whilst the

people who on the continent have left their pyramids and sculptured stones used hieroglyphic writing, few traces of the latter art exist among the islanders; and the symbols found by Ellis on the compact lava rocks in Hawaii were of the most rudimentary character. They consisted of a number of straight lines, semicircles, and concentric rings, with some rude imitations of the human figure, cut out with a stone hatchet. Those who are acquainted with Stephen's volumes and Mr. Catherwood's elegant illustrations, will, however, remark a connection between the primitive symbols just mentioned and the recurring hieroglyphs of the American sculptures, the cartouches, batons, and pellets, and the grotesque human figure.

All the islanders of the Pacific are placed by Dr. Latham in the division of Oceanic Mongolidæ. These may be subdivided into the Papuans, with black skins and crisp hair, and the Malayans, or copper-coloured race. We have at present to deal with the latter; premising that we do not assume the fact of their Eastern origin contained in the name of Malayan,—that being the subject of our present discussion.*

* 'Hervas, a Spanish Jesuit, anticipated Humboldt in establishing a new family—the Malay, or Polynesian—spread over no less than 208 degrees of longitude; from Madagascar to the Easter Islands, on the West Coast of America. This family is now included in the great division called Turanian.'—*Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language.* 1861.

Hervas says (Catalogo de las Lenguas): 'Yo no sin trabajo material de ojear muchos libros, y principalmente los que contienen las relaciones modernas de los descubrimientos de Cook y de Bougainville, he notado y recogido las palabras que en ellas he hallado de diversos lenguages de varias islas del mar del Sur, y habiendolas cotejado con las de dialectos claramente Malayos, he hallando que son tales dialectos las lenguas que se hablan en las seguientes islas del mar del Sur, 1. En el hemisferio boreal, las islas de Sandwych, á 20 grados de latitud y á 210 de longidud;' &c. Vol. 2, chap. 1.

No writer, probably, is entitled to more weight in his views of the identity and the heterogeneity of the oceanic races than Mr. Ellis, who has spent many years of a useful life among the groups of the Pacific, noting intelligently and investigating patiently their history, traditions, language, and relationship to each other. He authoritatively states, from his own observations, that the natives of Chatham Island* and New Zealand in the south, the Sandwich Islands in the north,† the Friendly Islands in the west,‡ and all the intermediate islands, as far as Easter Island in the east,§ *are one people.* 'Their mythology, traditions, manners and customs, language, and physical appearance, in their main features, are, so far as we had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, identically the same, yet differing in many respects from those of the islands to the westward of Tongatabu.'‖

This grouping, though extensive, stretching through seventy degrees of latitude and seventy degrees of longitude, is still comprised in the western hemisphere, with the exception of New Zealand; and we presume in these island-peoples a homogeneity of race; and also, though with less pronounced characters, an identity with the red and copper-coloured inhabitants of the American Continent.

We will examine first the probability of an Eastern immigration. We know that, at least as far back as the end of the tenth century, Icelandic voyagers, themselves emigrants from Denmark, had discovered the north-eastern coasts of America, and had made many

* Lat. 43.46 S. Lon. 176.14 W. † Centre Lat. 20 N. Lon. 155 W.
‡ Centre Lat. 21 S. Lon. 175 W. § Lat. 26.6 S. Lon. 109.17 W.
‖ 'Missionary Voyage,' 410.

excursions from Snowland thither, and had traced the continent downward till they entered latitudes where sunshine and verdure enamoured them with a land which, in comparison with their own, they may well have imagined to be the outskirts of heaven,—shores where the wild vine grew so abundantly that the country was named by them Vinland.* If the direction of one wave may indicate the course of a whole tide, the appearance of North American Indians passing over Bhering's Straits into Asia might perhaps show that a circulation had been established towards the sun-setting. In a passage quoted by Chateaubriand from the *Lettres Edifiantes* of the Jesuits, it is said that a missionary of that order met in Tartary a Huron woman whom he had previously known in Canada; and that he concluded, from this strange adventure, that the American continent approached on its north-west limit the continent of Asia. †

* Whilst the Caliphate of Bagdad still flourished under the Abassides, and while the Samanides, whose reign was so favourable to poetry, bore sway in Persia, America was discovered in the year 1000 by a Northern route, as far as 41½° north latitude, by Leif, the son of Eric the Red. The first but accidental step towards this discovery was made from Norway. In the second half of the ninth century, Naddod, having sailed for the Färoe Islands, which had been previously visited from Ireland, was driven by storms to Iceland, and the first Norman settlement was established there by Ingolf, in 875. . . . The colonization of Iceland, which had been first called by Naddod Snowland (Snjoland), now conducted in a south-westerly direction, passing by Greenland to the New Continent. . . . The tract which received from Leif the name of Vinland it Goda, Vinland the Good, comprised the coastline between Boston and New York, therefore parts of Massachusets, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

'Parts of America were seen, but not landed on, fourteen years before Lief Eireksson, in a voyage which Bjarne Herjulfson undertook from Greenland to the southward in 986.'—*Humboldt, Cosmos* (Sabine), ii. 233 and note.

† This rather credulous account concludes thus: 'Et il devina ainsi

Beechey says, 'The objection' (that of such frail vessels as canoes proceeding from the Malayan and other great islands lying to the westward of Polynesia), 'has so powerfully influenced the minds of some authors, that they have had recourse to the circuitous route through Tartary, across Bhering's Straits, and over the American continent, to bring the emigrants to a situation whence they might be drifted by the ordinary course of the winds to the lands in question. But had this been the case, a more intimate resemblance would surely be found to exist between the American Indians and the natives of Polynesia.'*

If the march of mankind was towards the west, and they had already swarmed downwards and peopled the upper continent of America, there would indeed be no difficulty in the supposition that from the western shores men had taken another departure and reached the nearest of the islands of the Pacific. For the trade winds blow steadily from the north-east during nine months of the year, and cattle have been conveyed in an open boat from the Californian coast to the Hawaiian Islands, which can be reached in a few days. So that either accident, or a desire to make maritime discoveries, might have thrown upon the shores of Hawaii the crew of a lost canoe or a more organised band of emigrants. With regard to the small craft that drift away from the coast of a continent it must, however, be remembered that the chances are manifold against one that a single canoe should strike upon a single island or a small group of islands distant a couple of thousand miles, so that many drifting boats would be

l'existence du detroit qui longtemps après a fait la gloire de Bering et de Cook.'—*Génie du Christianisme*, 432.

* 'Narrative of Voyage,' &c., vol. i. 252.

lost altogether before one would land its living freight; whilst, on the other hand, any number of canoes drifting in the opposite direction *from* the islands, must eventually impinge on the sea-board of an immense continent. Ellis, however, and his missionary associates, never heard of a canoe voyage made to the eastward, though they knew instances of canoes being out two or three weeks at sea, and arriving at places 500 or 600 miles in direct distance from their starting-point.

We must always allow a lengthened period to consecutive migrations. The settlers in one spot will generally stay long enough to increase in numbers before a new exodus from their adopted habitat becomes desirable or necessary. Sometimes the whole community moves onward in search of 'pastures ever new;' but more frequently a part of the community goes forth, like a swarm from a hive, carrying with them the traditions and idiosyncrasies of the parent tribe. Thus Tyre begets a Carthage, and Carthage begets a Carthagena. In each new home gradual changes take place; the settlers acclimatise to the new locality; dirt, misery, and other influences produce constitutional differences; and, what is important, these pioneers of a descending civilisation, with a half resemblance to the Bourbon dynasty, learn nothing, but forget a great deal. Nevertheless, the aroma lingers perseveringly about the emptied phial. Under new skies, and after centuries of absence, original events remain as myths in the popular memory; and arts, dwarfed and degraded, are found among people of too deficient an intelligence to have invented them. By these fragmentary arts, these distorted histories, these shadowy recollections, a scarcely discoverable thread of identity is kept along the progressive steps by which they traversed half our sphere.

In the midst of degradation, and with landmarks removed out of sight, nations which have become savage still cherish the memory of a past that was glorious, and turn their eyes towards their deified progenitors,

'And the august abode from whence they came.'

Speculations as to an Eastern emigration are scarcely more than glanced at here; and it may appear almost superfluous to refer to two groundless hypotheses which have been formed—the first, that Greek remains have been discovered in South America, and that faint vestiges of Greece are also traceable in the islands of Hawaii. The other supposition is that of the Hawaiian race being of Hebrew origin, and that these islanders represent the lost tribes of the house of Israel.

With regard to Greek resemblances, they may be classed under the following heads. First, the form of the feather helmet of the chiefs, which bears a considerable likeness to the metal casque and crest of the Grecians. Secondly, the employment of the dual number in the Hawaiian language. Thirdly, the use of the spear and the bow and arrow, and the recumbent position at meals. Fourthly, sortilege by the entrails of slain animals before battle.

As to the form of the helmet, it is probably a mere coincidence. A covering for the head will generally conform to the shape of the head (although the hats worn in Europe are a large exception to such a rule); and hence some resemblance must be established. As defensive armour, the Hawaiian helmet was useless, being formed of feathers closely arranged on a network. The people, instead of using armour in war, like the Greeks, went into battle with nothing on but the *maro*, a girdle round the loins,—the smallest quantity of

clothing conceivable. They used no shield, and it was the chiefs only who wore the feather helmets, and that for distinction and as insignia of their rank.

The dual form in speaking may have been introduced into the language by the native courtesy which characterises the chiefs, and have been followed by plebeians in the same manner in which 'you' has superseded 'thou' in the speech of Europe. The Hawaiians had a double form of dual for their pronoun; the first including the speaker and the spoken-to, the second embracing the speaker and the person spoken-of.* In other respects there is little in common in the two languages. The Hawaiian alphabet contains only seven consonants† and five vowels. It has no sibilants,‡ or sound equivalent to the *f* or *ϕ*. It is so destitute of consonant diphthongs that the natives cannot pronounce two consonants together without the interposition of a vowel; and their words have invariably a vowel termination.

With regard to the bow and arrow, although these instruments are complex and involve a practical acquaintance with some physical laws, the weapon is found so frequently among savage nations as well as civilised that one is almost tempted to say that the bow and arrow is an innate idea. The recumbent position at meals may have been experimentally found an easy one in a warm climate, and have suited well with a people whose *indoles* is indolence.

Sortilege by the entrails of slain animals is more difficult to account for.

* Vide Ellis, who gives a table of the changes effected by duality, at length.

† So generally numbered: but nine, if the two pairs of interchangeables be reckoned as four distinct letters.

‡ The Samoan is the only Polynesian group which possesses sibilants.

There are a few words having an apparent similarity to the Greek. Little weight, however, is due to a small number of coincident vocables in two languages, when the proper deduction is made for necessity and accident. The following examples have been adduced :—

| Hawaiian. | English. | Greek. |
|---|---|---|
| *melé* | a song | μέλος. |
| *aroha* | love | ἔρως. |
| *arii* | a chief | Ἄρης. |
| *rani* | the heavens | οὐρανός. |
| *mahina* | the moon | μήν. |

The similarity of sound in the last example is greater than is at first apparent. When the universal terminal vowel is thrown off, the two first syllables, pronounced quickly, come very near the Greek word for month. The three words which in the list contain the letter *r*, lose their resemblance to the Greek when written with an *l*, which has been invariably substituted in modern orthography for the former letter.

The number of customs among the Hawaiians corresponding to Hebrew practices is admitted at once to be very remarkable. But even if such proofs were considered strong enough to substantiate the fact of Jews having reached the islands, it would not necessitate an emigration from the Mediterranean; the probability would be as great of their course having been in the opposite direction. As, however, the tribes of North America have been claimed to have a Hebrew origin, the points of Jewish resemblance may be properly enumerated here. These consisted of—

1. Circumcision, which, previous to the establishment of the American missionaries, was commonly practised among the natives as a religious ceremony.

2. Separation and purification of women after childbirth, &c., enforced under penalty of death.

3. Cities of refuge,—an institution found in no other heathen nation.

4. Pollution by touching a dead body, and purification therefrom by religious ceremonies.

5. Offering of the first-fruits to their gods.

6. Wearing sackcloth in mourning.

7. The custom of the chiefs of washing their hands before and after eating.

8. Traditions resembling those in the Hebrew Scriptures.

9. A resemblance which Mr. Dibble perceived between the poetry of the Hebrews and the Hawaiians; and a structural likeness in the two languages, especially in the causative form of the Hawaiian verb, which is precisely the same as the Hiphil of the Hebrew.*

Of the similarity of the native traditions to the histories of the Old Testament, the following examples will serve; and they are probably the most striking that Mr. Dibble could adduce.

Hawaiian tradition relates, that man was originally made of the dust of the earth, by Kane and Kanaloa, two of their principal deities.

In the story of Waikelenuiaiku, we have a pretty close counterpart of that of Joseph. His father had ten

* 'The Hawaiians have no auxiliary verb "*to be*;" there are no variations in nouns for case, number, or person; but the moods and tenses of verbs are pretty clearly distinguished by simple prefixes and suffixes. The mode of conjugating verbs, the existence of a causative form, and the derivation of words from roots of two syllables, are thought to indicate a resemblance and cognate origin with the Hebrew and other Oriental tongues.'—*Cheever, Life in the S. Islands.* London, 1851.

Mr. Cheever also remarks a coincidence relating to the very frequent addition of the word *wai* to names of places, and the similar addition in the East of *wadi*, both words meaning water,—the changed Hawaiian form arising from a consistent rejection of consonants where practicable.

sons and one daughter. He was beloved by his father and hated by his brethren, who cast him into a pit; his eldest brother having, moreover, a greater pity for him than the rest. He escaped into a country, the king of which was Kamohoalii, by whom he was confined in a dark place underground, together with many persons imprisoned there for various crimes. Whilst in prison he bid his companions dream, and he interpreted the dreams of four of them. One had seen a ripe *ohia*, and his spirit ate it; the second saw a ripe banana, which his spirit ate; the third had seen a hog, which his spirit ate; the fourth dreamed that he saw *awa*, that he pressed out the juice, and his spirit drank it. Like Joseph, he interpreted the three first visions unfavourably to their dreamers, and they were afterwards slain; to the last he gave an interpretation of deliverance and life, and he was accordingly saved. The king being informed by this person of the wonderful powers of Waikelenuiaiku, the latter was liberated and made a principal chief in the kingdom.

There is also a tradition of a person who, like Jonah, was swallowed by a fish, and afterwards cast out upon dry land.

The natives also believed that a state of perpetual night, or chaos, had preceded creation, in which antecedent state nothing existed but some of the gods. The myth relating to Maui, a demi-god, has an analogy to Joshua when he commanded the sun to stand still. This same Maui was an important person in the Pantheon of New Zealand. The Hawaiians preserved a tradition of a deluge, when rain fell, and the waters rose up until all the land was covered, except the summit of Mauna Kea. Some of the inhabitants saved themselves in a *laau*, a vessel the height, length, and breadth of which

were equal; it was filled with men, animals, and their food; and after floating for some time, finally rested on the mountain Mauna Kea.

It must be remembered, however, that whilst these myths of the Hawaiians bear a considerable resemblance to the relations of the Hebrew Scriptures, the evidence of their coming from Jewish sources is not conclusive. The belief of the North American Indians in a Great Spirit, has been regarded as the inheritance of ages: Captain Burton, in his recent work on the Mormon States, looks upon it as derived from the teaching of Christian missionaries, and denies that the Indian theology embraced any notion of the immortality of the soul. These traditions of Hawaii (it may as easily be supposed), have arisen from casual intercourse with Europeans. It is unnecessary to remark, that in Hawaiian society, as in that of the Greek heroic age, a very short time will suffice to impart an air of antiquity to recently imported legends.

A great danger, too, exists in claiming cognation between two distant peoples from the coincidence of a few words in both languages. The Persian name for slipper is said to be almost the same as the North American Indian word, *mocassin*. This coincidence should not be allowed to prove that the Persians and the Indians of Canada are kindred. The Sanscrit name *tala* (wine made from the juice of palms), closely resembles the Hawaiian name of their universal edible, *talo*; but we do not thence jump at the conclusion that the Polynesian language is a derivative of the Sanscrit. The human organs of voice are the same throughout our race, and are only capable of producing a certain number of sounds and articulations, the great majority of which articulations are common to all people, and must

be employed by them in expressing ideas. Then, if the *copia verborum* of each of two nations consisted of 5000 separate words, there would be several probabilities of coincidence, viz., that in each language the same articulation should be used to express one idea, and that only accidentally; and the chances of selection in the case of onomatopes would be still greater. The coincidence, therefore, of a few corresponding words is a meagre proof of identity of nations.*

Equal circumspection is required before claiming identity between nations upon mere similarities, however close, in arts, utensils, &c. Such resemblances often argue nothing more than that common wants seeking to supply their defect by the most obvious and simple methods, lead to a similarity of forms of construction;—in the same way that the uniformity of the human organs of voice necessarily restricts the number of producible sounds, and tends accidentally to some identities in vocables. Otherwise we shall have a Celtic origin claimed for the Polynesian islands in virtue of the *Kist-vaens* which are found upon them. There is

* It is not remarkable that nations should frequently express ideas in onomatopes, nor that a word of very easy pronunciation should be selected in different languages for the same purpose. Papa, mamma, and the monosyllable *ta*, are words so easily produced that they are amongst the very first uttered by children. The syllables *pa-ta* become *pater*; and it has been proposed to call *Patarian* that vast family of languages which adopt this word and its metamorphoses to express Father. It is more remarkable that some one idea should be independently selected by several nations for expression under an onomatope, whilst in each language the word is formed according to its own genius and without reference to the imitative form used by other nations. Take for example the English word *whisper*, corresponding in French with *chuchotement*, *chuchoter*; in Italian with *bisbiglio*, *bisbigliare*; in Latin with *susurrus*, *susurro*; in Greek with ψιθυρίζω, ψιθίρισμα. Each language imitates the whispering sound in the name, but each does so according to its own plan, and in a manner quite divergent from all the others.

in Hawaii an ancient lava road, ascribed to Umi, a king who flourished about 500 years ago. It remains very perfect, and is defined on each side with a kerb or bordering of stones. Along this road and near it are several of the structures of four stones, such as are found in this country, Brittany, &c.; three stones being set upright and edgewise, the fourth forming a roof or covering. They are between three and four feet in height, and would afford shelter to human beings from the weather. An account has been received of similar structures existing in greater numbers upon Malden's Island, a low coral isle situated in 4° S. lat., and 155° W. lon. It is uninhabited, but bears traces of its former occupants; and though only thirty feet in elevation above the water, it gives evidence of several distinct upheavals. Captain Goddard, who visited the island in the summer of 1861, found seven distinct, well-defined beaches traced on its shore line. On the centre ridge were counted more than a hundred made platforms, cruciform in shape, outlined with coral slabs standing three feet out of the ground, the area between the slab-walls being filled in with coral blocks, stones and shells, in a compact mass. In several places paths formed of stones and shells led from a cluster of these platforms down to the shore, traversing in their course the five upper or oldest beaches, but never in any instance going beyond the sixth, or down to the present beach of the sea. A number of other constructions were also discovered, consisting of three upright coral blocks, with a fourth lying on top, resembling a box with one end out. Upwards of thirty wells were examined. Many were from six to nine feet in depth, cut through the coral rock, and were either dry, or had salt water in them. A great number of very shallow graves were

found, containing human bones more or less decayed, and egg-shaped shell ornaments.* .

We dismiss the idea of an immigration from the sun-rising; and we come now to consider the probabilities of the Hawaiian people having approached their home in the opposite direction—from the shores of Asia lying to their west, which front them.

First, there is the expressed conviction of those who have visited the islands of Polynesia; and this, from their opportunities of comparing the inhabitants of separate groups, and of the Asiatic islands and continent, is of great importance. One of the latest writers, Mr. St. Julian, in his 'Official Report on Central Polynesia,' endorses the general idea that the Malayan tribes 'came direct from Asia, travelling to the eastward, from island to island, across the broad Pacific, until they poured upon the western shores of the great American continent.'

Secondly, there is the unity of the tribes inhabiting the islands of the Pacific. 'The New Zealander and Hawaiian,' says Mr. Jarves, who resided four years in the Sandwich Islands, 'though more than four thousand miles apart, with all the intermediate tribes, are members of one family, and require but a short period to acquire the faculty of a free exchange of ideas.'

For the better illustration of the similarity and homology of the two languages, or rather dialects of one language, I give in a foot-note a columnar version of the Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian and New Zealand speech, with a literal construe into English. It will be perceived by the vacancies in the Maori that there is in it an absence of several words and corresponding ideas which exist in Hawaiian. Among these blanks are *king*

* 'Polynesian,' September 21, 1861.

and *kingdom*; and the want confirms what Lang says of the New Zealanders, that they recognise only two classes in society, the slave or prisoner of war and the *rangatira* or gentleman. This trilingual version was prepared by the Reverend George Kingdon, who also adds the interesting final note.*

* The Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian, with the corresponding words in Maori:

| Hawaiian. | Maori. | |
|---|---|---|
| E | E | O |
| ko | to ( = te o) | the of |
| mako | matou | us |
| Makua | Matua | Father |
| i-loko | i roto | inside |
| o | o | of |
| ka | te | the |
| Lani | Rangi | Heaven |
| e hoanoia | | hallowed be |
| Kou | Tou | Thy |
| Inoa | Ingoa | Name |
| e hiki mai | whiti, to cross over; mai = towardsthespeaker | come |
| Kou | Tou | Thy |
| Aupuni | | Kingdom |
| e malamaia | | done be |
| Kou | Tou | Thy |
| Makemake | | Will |
| ma | ma | by |
| ka—nei | te—nei | this |
| honua | whenua | earth |
| e like me | e rite me | like as |
| ia | ia | that |
| i malamaia | | done |
| ma | ma | by |
| ka | te | the |
| Lani | Rangi | Heaven |
| e haawi mai | | give |
| i a makou | i a matou | us |
| i ai | i (te) kai | food |
| no | mo; (no, belonging to) | for |

The same writer remarks: 'The language spoken in the groups so widely diffused over the Pacific Ocean has

| HAWAIIAN. | MAORI. | |
|---|---|---|
| keia | tenei | this |
| la | ra | day |
| e kala mai | | forgive |
| i ko | i to (=i te o) | the of |
| makou | matou | us |
| lawehalaana | rawe, greatness; hara, sin | trespass |
| me | me | as |
| makou | matou | we |
| e kala nei | | forgive |
| i ka | i te | the |
| poe | | people |
| i lawehala mai | | (who)trespass against |
| i a makou | i a matou | us |
| mai | | not? |
| alakai | arataki | lead |
| i a makou | i a matou | us |
| i ka | i te | in the |
| hoowalewaleia mai | whakaware, to hinder, amuse, engage the attention | temptation |
| ata | | but |
| e hoopakele | | deliver |
| i a makou | i a matou | us |
| mai | | from |
| ka ino | te kino | the evil |
| no ka mea | no te mea | for |
| Nou | Nou | Thine |
| ke | te | the |
| Aupuni | | Kingdom |
| a me | a, or me | and |
| ka Mana | te Mana | the Power |
| a me | a, or me | and |
| ka | te | the |
| hoonaniia | | Glory |
| a mau loa 'ku | a mau roa atu (roa, long; atu, onwards) | for ever |
| Amene | Amine | Amen. |

The Hawaiian k and l appear to be *invariably* changed in Maori into t and r respectively; and the n and h *frequently* into ng and wh. K is

the same common structure, with but such differences as may be resolved into dialects,—the result of long non-intercourse; while other peculiarities are to be attributed to difference of soils, climates, governments, and other local causes.' And he urges that 'when affinities of language, physiological resemblances, corresponding manners, and religious belief, and, more particularly, well-established traditions, pointing to a common origin, appear among tribes which, in modern times, have lost all means of communication, the enquirer finds tenable grounds for believing in a general relationship. This appears to be the case throughout Polynesia.'

I must resist being drawn in further by the fascinating subject of language, necessarily embracing ethnology; and gladly refer my readers to Dr. Lang's view of the 'Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation' (London, 1834); and to the Second Series of Professor Max Müller's 'Lectures on Language.'

The habitat will account for special differences in the physique of nations belonging to one family. 'The hair of the Hawaiians,' says Mr. Ellis, 'is black or brown, strong, and frequently curly; their complexion is neither yellow, like the Malays, nor red, like the American Indians, but a kind of olive, and sometimes reddish brown.'

Thirdly, as to the possibility of long voyages from the Asiatic shores, they have been demonstrated to be practicable by actual instances. Japanese junks, which have been blown out to sea, have been finally stranded with

frequently inserted in Maori; as, for instance, it is a Maori tradition that their ancestors came from 'Hawaiki,' which is clearly 'Hawaii.' The causative prefix hoo becomes in Maori whaka; as hoomaikai, to praise (literally, to make good); whakapai, to praise; hoonui, whakanui, to magnify, to make great. Many other interesting particulars might be discovered by a person acquainted with both languages.

their occupants on distant islands, and have even reached the continent of America in the 46th degree of north latitude. And an example still more in point is, that in the year 1832 one of these junks was wrecked on Oahu, Sandwich Islands, after having been tossed about at sea for eleven months; four persons out of her original crew of nine surviving. It is certain that every year many canoes, crowded with people of both sexes, are picked up at sea, after having drifted at the mercy of the elements to great distances from their places of departure. The great number of islands, which may almost be said to continue the continent of Asia far into the ocean, form, comparatively, easy stepping-stones for a population projecting itself towards the Pacific Polynesia, and thence by a last flight to the finality of the American mainland. Ellis's assertion has been already quoted, that of many stray canoes reaching Tahiti from eastern, unknown islands, the voyages have always been in a westerly direction; the missionaries never heard of one towards the sunrise. Beechey says: 'All have agreed as to the manner in which these migrations between the islands have been effected, and some few instances have actually been met with; but they have been in one direction only, and have rather favoured the opinion of migration from the eastward. The accident which threw in our way Tuwarri and his companions, who were driven 600 miles in a direction contrary to the trade wind, in spite of their utmost exertions, has fortunately enabled us to remove the objections which have been urged against the general opinion. The fact being so well attested, and the only one of the kind upon record, is, consequently, of the highest interest, both as regards its singularity, and as it establishes the *possibility* of the case. Though this is the only instance that has come to

our knowledge, there is no reason why many other canoes may not have shared a similar fate; and some few of many thousands, perhaps, may have drifted to the remotest islands of the Archipelago, and thus peopled them.' *

Fourthly, the native traditions. These are scanty; but one of them relates to a man and woman arriving at Hawaii in a canoe bringing with them a hog, a dog, and a pair of fowls. These persons became the progenitors of the Hawaiian people. By another story prevalent among the inhabitants of Oahu, a number of persons arrived in a canoe from Tahiti, and perceiving that the Sandwich Islands were fertile, and were dwelt in only by gods and spirits, they asked and obtained permission to settle there. The early missionaries found the general opinion as to the origin of the Hawaiian race, to be either that their first parents had been created on the islands, or that the chiefs were descended from Akea the first king, who appears to have been a demi-god; or the more popular view, that their ancestors had arrived in a canoe from Tahiti. Now the island of Tahiti, the principal of the Society group, lies on the ecliptic, in about lat. 18° S., and long. 150° W. It is consequently nearly forty degrees south of Hawaii, and rather to the westward of the latter group. There is nothing against the probability of an emigration from Tahiti; but the name *tahiti* itself is in the Georgian and Society Islands a verb; and it has also a signification in the language of the Sandwich Islands, being equivalent to the word *abroad*, and is frequently employed to denote *any* foreign country. But, as in this country, some centuries ago, the word *Spanish*, though necessarily derived from the country Spain, was used with the meaning of *outlandish*

* 'Narrative of a Voyage,' &c., vol. i. 252.

or *foreign*; so Ellis thinks that the name Tahiti was primarily employed to denote the whole of the southern group or its principal island; but it did not include the more contiguous group of the Marquesas.

According to native tradition frequent intercourse existed between the various groups of islands, and the canoes then used were larger and of a better construction. In the Hawaiian *Melés*, or songs, the names of Nuuhiva and Tahuata, two of the Marquesan islands,—Upolu and Savaii, belonging to the Samoan group,—and Tahiti, with others in that neighbourhood, frequently occur; besides the names of headlands and towns in those islands. These songs also make allusions to voyages from Oahu and Kauai to islands far west.

As the traditionary lore of the Hawaiians is rapidly dying out, and printing is taking the place of memory, it is probable that little more of such transmitted information will be procured from native bard or eld. Mr. Ellis mentioned to me his conviction that if he returned to the Sandwich Islands he should not now obtain one-tenth of the myths or histories which he gathered there five-and-thirty years ago. The chapter, therefore, of popular palæontology must be a short one; and it may be closed with a question that arises in the mind when we consider the present state of this or any particular society of mankind, viz.: How has this people arrived at its present status? Has it been by progression or retrogression? Have they advanced from a somewhat Gorilla condition, such as still holds the Earthmen of Africa; or have degrading influences been at work and marred gradually the goodly image which the Creator formed? Are we to hold with Monboddo, the 'Vestiges,' and Darwin;—or, with the more glowing and regretful belief of South, that 'Aristotle was but the ruin of an

Adam, and Athens only the rudiments of Eden?' In this world of flux and change it is probable that the light shines on and is withdrawn from different nations in turns. Those who love light and use it well may be privileged to keep their faces turned towards it, and follow it wheresoever it goes. 'It does not appear,' says Humboldt, 'to belong to the destinies of the human race that all portions of it should suffer eclipse or obscuration at the same time. A preserving principle maintains the ever-living process of the progress of reason.'* And the Christian philosopher has something to add to this, which seems a somewhat cold estimate of the human destiny. We may believe that the lamp of religious truth emits rays of warmth as well as of light; and that a nation will receive a blessing from on high and that a shield will be extended over her head whilst she diligently trims that lamp and carries it forth in zeal and love to enlighten other nations and the isles that sit in darkness.

* 'Cosmos.' (Sabine), ii. 232.

## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY ISLAND DISCOVERIES—NATIVE HISTORY—COOK'S FIRST ARRIVAL.

EARLY in the sixteenth century the pioneers of navigation from Portugal, Spain, and Genoa had burst into the great Pacific Ocean. Magellan entered the Pacific in 1520, and discovered the Marianas, the Philippines, and some smaller islands. Gaetano discovered one of the Sandwich Islands in 1542; and following him, Quiros found Tahiti and the New Hebrides. Sea voyages in the Pacific multiplied, but that sea long continued the exclusive theatre of the enterprises of the Spaniards and Portuguese. Its hydrography was, however, unfixed and imperfect, and, as Humboldt remarks, the islands by which it was studded, from want of exact astronomical determination of position, strayed to and fro on the map, like floating islands.* That great observer says: 'It has been asked, how it was possible for Spanish vessels since the sixteenth century to cross the great ocean from the western coast of the New Continent to the Philippine Islands without discovering the isles with which that vast sea basin is strewed?' He answers the question by the small number of voyages made; one ship went and returned between New Spain and Manilla during the year; scarcely more between the latter place and Lima; by the difficulties of navigation at a period

* 'Cosmos.'

when the use of lunar distances and chronometers was unknown to navigators; and by the necessity felt of following an ascertained track, from which if they deviated, they feared falling in with shallows and shoals. He enumerates the discoveries made by the Spaniards in the great ocean, and says that the names of Viscayno, Mendána, Quiros, and Sarmiento, undoubtedly deserve a place beside the names of the most illustrious navigators of the eighteenth century. 'In 1542,' he says, 'Gaetano had already found several scattered islands not far from the group of Sandwich Islands; and it cannot be called in question that even this last group was known to the Spaniards for more than a century before the voyage of Cook for the island of Mesa indicated on an old chart of the galleon of Acapulco is the same with the island of Owhyhee, which contains the high mountain of *The Table* or *Mowna Roa*.'* Christian missionaries, too, were pressing forward into the newly discovered tropical lands of America: one or more possibly reached Hawaii. Ellis found a tradition preserved there among the people, and he heard it from them in three different places, that in the reign of Kahoukapu, a priest (Kahuna) arrived in Hawaii from a foreign country. He was a white man, having the name of Paao, and he brought with him two idols or gods, one of which was large and the other small. These were adopted by the nations, admitted into the national pantheon, and were worshipped according to the direction of Paao; the temple called Mokini, in the district of Pauepu, near the north point of the island, was built for them, as tradition states by a priest, who afterwards became a powerful man in the nation.

* 'Polit. Essay on New Spain.'

It requires no great effort of the imagination to see, under the native name Paao, a metamorphic form of Paolo; in the two idols, large and small, images of the Virgin and Holy Child; in the temple, a small church or chapel. After Paao's death, his son (we presume the priest's son is meant, and it militates a little against the supposition just mentioned), whose name was Opiri, officiated in the temple of Mokini. Of Opiri an interesting record is preserved orally, that he acted as interpreter between the king and a party of white men who arrived at the island.

A tradition of white men, still more involved in mystery, was found by the same inquiring author. The great volcanic mountain, now extinct, Mauna Kea, is said to have taken its name, not from the snow by which it is perpetually capped,—*Kea* being the obsolete term for white,—but on account of some white men, who are reported to have resided on the mountain and to have come down to the seashore frequently in the evening, and to have frightened the natives. These people were called *na Kea*, 'the whites.'

One more native tradition deserves mention as indicating the knowledge the Hawaiians had in early times of the existence of other groups, and as also connecting a relation of the same order given by the old traveller Rubruquis. In 'The Voyage of Kamapiikai,' it is stated, that one of the gods appeared to the priest Kamapiikai in a vision, revealed to him the existence, situation, and distance of Tahiti, and directed him to make a voyage thither. He accordingly sailed with forty companions in four double canoes. On the return of this party after an absence of fifteen years, they described the country they had visited, and which they called Haupokane, as possessing handsome inhabitants,

delicious and plentiful fruits, &c.; and that there was there a stream or fountain called the '*wai ora roa*,' 'the water of enduring life.' The priest made subsequently three more voyages to the newly discovered country, accompanied by many Hawaiians; and from the fourth voyage they never returned; having either taken up their permanent abode at Haupokane, or perished at sea. The inducement to the priest's fellow countrymen to accompany him was mainly the qualities of the 'water of enduring life.' It produced marvellous changes in those who bathed in it. The infirm, the emaciated, and the deformed came out of its wave young, strong, and handsome. The island is not improbably one of the Marquesan group, but under a name which cannot be identified. The story preserved in Roger Bacon from the travels of Rubruquis, and analogous to the relation above, is his description of a land near Cathay, bounded by the Eastern Ocean,—a happy land, 'where men and women arriving from other countries cease to grow old.' The marvellous waters of the *wai ora roa* agree also with 'The Fountain of Youth,' which Ponce de Leon sought for in vain in Florida in 1512. The native legend may be a transformed version of a relation given by early Spanish visitors.

It has been already mentioned that in proportion as printing has become used in the islands, oral tradition is dying out. It was fortunate, therefore, that the early American missionaries collected and preserved as much as they did of the prescriptive history of Hawaii. Mr. Ellis, at the time of his visit, found the bards able to recount the successive reigns of about seventy kings; and with regard to the thirty-five reigns nearest to our own day, the accordance between the bards was very exact.

Native traditions refer to the arrival of strangers a long time before Cook's appearance. In the seventeenth century Spanish merchantmen were crossing the Pacific, and might have refreshed at these islands. The buccaneers, too, may have found the small harbour a convenient place of concealment. On Captain Cook's first visit, he found two pieces of iron in the possession of the natives,—one a portion of a hoop, the other apparently part of a broadsword. The islanders were acquainted with the use of iron. It is not wonderful that more of that metal was not found in an unchanged state, because it would be converted into fish-hooks, which the Hawaiians preferred making in their own fashion from pieces of iron, to the hooks brought to them ready made. Tradition states that many generations since, ships were seen passing the islands at a distance. The name they gave them, and which is still retained in the native language for all vessels, was *Moku*, or islands. A more precise tradition relates that a boat arrived in Kealakeakua Bay, on the west side of Hawaii,—the bay where Cook met his death,—that it had no masts or sails, but was painted, and had an awning over the stern. The persons who arrived in the boat were clad in white and yellow cloth, and one of them wore a hat with a plume, and had a *pahi*, i. e. a sword, at his side. These people remained, and formed alliances with the natives, rose to be chiefs and famous warriors, and for a considerable period governed Hawaii. The date of their coming, as far as it can be deduced from circumstances, may have been about the year 1600. Later than this, perhaps in 1620, a vessel was wrecked in the south side of the same bay. The captain of her, and a white woman, were the only persons saved. On reaching the beach they prostrated

themselves there for a long while. The strangers were hospitably received by the natives, formed connections with them, and from this mixed race it is said that many of the chiefs and common people have descended. Those who are supposed to represent this race at the present day, are distinguished by their lighter skin, and by brown or red curly hair, called *ehu*.

We have to pass over more than a whole century, and then we find that in the map of the world attached to Anson's Voyages, published in 1748, the Sandwich Islands are delineated under their Spanish appellations, correct as to latitude, and but ten degrees too far to the west. What use was made of this chart towards the great re-discovery of the islands thirty years afterwards, is not known; but, Mr. Jarves remarks, Cook enquired at Tahiti if any islands lay to the north of them; and in his journal no great surprise is evinced at discovering land in that direction. The same writer observes of that great navigator, that 'a silence in regard to the maritime efforts of his predecessors is observable throughout his journals.'

It was in the pause between two revolutions—two years after the United States of America had in 1776 signed the Declaration of Independence; while France had not yet broken out into those flames which reduced her to a temporary dissolution,—that an English seaman, somewhat in the spirit of Columbus, was calmly pursuing discoveries in the great ocean of the Pacific. Ere the French revolution commenced, Cook's life had been taken away under circumstances that have arrested the attention of the world; but it happens that his successor, Vancouver, visited the Hawaiian Islands in that memorable year when news of the decapitation of Louis XVI. caused every monarch in Europe to rise

the next morning with a crick in his neck. It is interesting to relate cotemporaneous events so different in their nature as a popular cataclysm and a geographical discovery; and to remark that science, though engendered by social wants, has an existence independent of the social life, and often pursues her way, as she did in France at that very epoch, indifferent to the madness or the misery of a nation. And so it was, that whilst the New World was emerging from war, and the Old World was about to plunge into that great calamity, fair countries, lying gem-like on the ocean, unknown or forgotten, welcomed in peace the flag that brought them at once and for ever face to face with the benefits and the ills of civilisation.

In January 1778, Captain Cook's two ships, the 'Resolution' and 'Discovery,' approached for the first time the islands of Kauai and Niihau, the most westerly of the Hawaiian group. The apparition naturally excited the wonder and curiosity of the natives, who flocked about the two ships in their canoes, bartering their productions for iron, but could not be induced to go on board. The next morning, when the islanders were stirring, their amazement was even increased by seeing the moving islands or forests at anchor in Waimea Bay.* The first meeting of the savage and the civilised man was not to take place without a display of evil passions; and before day declined, Death, in a new form to the Hawaiians, was at his work. The chiefs of the island sent people to examine the ships, who reported the great quantity of iron that they observed about them. The thirst for iron in those distant islands was as strong as

* Three of the islands, if not more, have places named Waimea. This one is on the south of Kauai. There is an inconvenient repetition among native names; thus, that of Kona occurs on four of the islands.

the thirst for gold is in more enlightened communities. A warrior at once decided to plunder the ships, feeling strong within himself the *ferri sacra fames*. In his attempt he was fired on by the crew and killed. The incident did not, however, interfere with the intercourse that was established between the white men and the natives; the former gratified their passions, the latter indulged, wherever practicable, their propensity for thieving. Cook endeavoured to preserve the islanders from the ill effects of this intercourse, but any discipline he could enforce on board was neutralized by the facilities offered on shore by a people with whom chastity was not counted among the virtues, nor shame esteemed a feminine grace.

The appearance and get-up of the 'British seaman' of that day, was a peculiar one; it was especially wonderful in the eyes of the *Kanaka*.* The cocked hat adhering to the head, was to them identified strictly with the wearer, so that the spies who went to examine the ships described the people on board as having 'heads horned like the moon.' They had fires burning at their mouths,—no doubt cigars; they ate the raw flesh of men;—this was the red, juicy water-melon brought from Monterey; they took, like Peter Schlemmil, anything they wanted out of their bodies,—such was the first impression of pockets on the native mind; and what was more laughable than all (for the Hawaiians are essentially a risible people), was the utterly unintelligible gibberish that the strangers spoke. All these circumstances, together with the firing of some more guns, made the natives conclude that their visitors were gods.

* The native name for an inhabitant of the islands.

There was an additional reason for such a belief. *Lono*, the Hawaiian Hercules, was one of the major gods. In a fit of jealousy he killed his wife; but, driven to frenzy by the act he had committed, he wandered through the islands, boxing and wrestling with all he met: his answer to every astonished enquirer being, 'I am frantic with my great love!' Having instituted the athletic games known as the Mahakiki, in honour of his wife's memory, and which were held annually, he sailed from the islands in a triangular canoe, for a foreign land; but ere he departed he uttered this prophecy: 'I will return in after times on an island bearing cocoa-nut trees, swine and dogs.' Cook's two ships, so much larger than any floating objects the natives had hitherto seen, appeared to them, not unplausibly, islands, the masts being trees; and now Lono was returning to his own country. From Lono were supposed to have proceeded the thunder and lightning of the ship's guns which were fired. Still the islanders thought at first of attacking the vessels; but a female chief advised conciliatory measures; and to propitiate the strangers, she sent her own daughters and other women on board. This measure may only have anticipated an evil which was certain to arise as soon as shipping should make the island a place of refreshment during their voyages, or a market for their commodities. Nevertheless the seeds of a disease previously unknown were immediately communicated to the natives, a disease which has spread through the whole group, attended with the most fatal consequences. 'I said, ye are gods,' was the emotion of a simple people at the first impact of the civilised world; but, alas! the visitors showed themselves to be but frail, passionate men. 'The great revolutions,' remarks

Mr. Jarves, 'the islands were to undergo, commenced on one side with theft and prostitution, which was repaid by death and disease. Still the superior knowledge, humanity, and forbearance of the whites had been seen and acknowledged, and the first moral lessons in the distinctions of property, the foundation of all commercial prosperity, received.

The ships had remained a fortnight, principally at Niihau, and then sailed with the south-west trade wind, which prevails in the early months of the year, for the north-west coast of America. The news of the great event spread rapidly from Kauai to the next island, Oahu. At that time each island was under the rule of a separate king. Kalaniopuu reigned over the great island of Hawaii, whose name in the journals of Cook, Ledyard, and Beechey, appears as Terreoboo, Teraiobu, and Teriapu. To account for the differences in the orthography of native names, it is to be remarked that the language is essentially vocal, having but seven consonants, and consequently it was difficult to transfix a previously unwritten tongue, and give its sounds their true phonetic value. The difficulty was increased by two pairs of consonants being interchangeable, viz.: *k* with *t*, and *l* with *r*; and the difference between another pair, *b* and *p*, not being perceptible. Whether it is that the ear of the Hawaiians does not distinguish the difference, or that the consonant they use is a compromise between each pair of letters, is uncertain. The American missionaries did much to systematise the spelling of the language; and in recent books and papers the letter *l* has displaced its interchangeable *r* —generally, but not always. The important root which forms the food of the people is still spelt *taro*, very rarely *kalo*. The older writers used the *t* and the *r*;

and Ellis, who wrote five-and-thirty years ago, adopts a mixed orthography in respect of the above letters.

To Kalaniopuu, then, the great news was carried from Oahu ; and the account of the strangers was embellished and added to in the usual manner with oral traditions. By Mohu's description the ships, as well as their crews, were animated beings, the latter perhaps seeming a parasitical life attached to the former, or to have the same relation which the coral insect bears to the common coral branch. A small piece of canvas procured from the English had been sent by the Chief of Kauai to the King of Oahu, who presented the rarity to his wife. It was not long before a public procession gave the fit opportunity for female vanity, and the queen walked proudly with the rag of canvas worn in the most conspicuous part of her dress. As that dress was particularly scanty, this exotic addition to it must have been well displayed, and attractive of much attention. It probably had an effect as dissipating to the wearer's mind as Hans Christian Andersen's red shoes at his confirmation.

Whilst Cook was absent, war had broken out between Hawaii and Maui; the king of the latter island being Kahekili—called by Cook and others Titeree. Kalaniopuu, King of Hawaii, invaded his neighbour's island ; and on that occasion he was accompanied by a youth in whom was already lighted the fire of military and administrative genius, who became afterwards a great conqueror, and the founder of the present dynasty of *Hawaii-Nei*—i. e. the whole group of Hawaii, as distinguished from the single island of Hawaii. This was Kaméhaméha, the future warrior king.

It is the effect both of sorrow and of success to make men superstitious. The war-gods were carried

in the forefront of the armies, and in battle the islanders trusted as much to the effect of terror produced by the frightful countenances of their idols on their enemy, as to their own prowess. The gods were at this juncture in exaltation; and the minds of those who trusted in them were more than usually accessible to any fresh manifestation of divinity. This particular state of feeling is woven up with the mixed narrative of events which follows.

On the 26th of November a pitched battle was fought, in which the invading king was triumphant. The victors at evening retired to Wailuku, a bay on the north side of Maui, to refresh themselves after the battle; and lo! a marvel awaits them: at morning they beheld in the bay the very islands of gods, report of which had been previously brought to them. Is not this the reward of victors? Can this be other than Lono returned to salute the conquerors? The belief that Cook was indeed Lono, a belief which that great navigator thought it his interest to acquiesce in, if not to cherish, became in the end a proximate cause of his untimely death. Kalaniopuu sent off a present to the ships of some hogs, and afterwards made a state visit to the commander on board, accompanied by the young Kaméhaméha. The latter, with a few attendants, remained on board all night, greatly to the consternation of those on shore, who seeing the vessels stand out to sea, supposed the god had carried away their young warrior, and made loud and bitter lamentations for his loss. Kaméhaméha was soon landed in safety, and Cook pursued his way for Hawaii, and on the 2nd of December arrived at Kohala.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE TRAGEDY IN KEALAKEAKUA BAY.

CONTINUING his course round the island, occasionally trading with the natives, Cook's two ships anchored, January 17, 1779, in the bay on the western side of Hawaii, called variously Kaawaroa, Karakakoua, and Kealakeakua. The time of his arrival there was a week of *tabu*. An oppressive sacerdotalism united itself with an absolute monarchy in governing the nation. The priesthood and the kingship were obliged to respect each other; and their union, instead of counterbalancing the power which each possessed, and so ameliorating it to the common people, was an alliance which riveted the chain of feudalism more completely round that people's neck. One of the great instruments used by both king and priests for maintaining their power and their revenue, was the system of *tabu* or *taboo*. It was a consecration of any object, or person, or period of time, for some exclusive purpose; and it was enforced with sanguinary penalties. There were permanent tabus, as of the king's fish-ponds and bathing-places: there were long-continued tabus, not taken off, in some cases, for many years; and there were shorter tabus, existing a week, or a single day. Sometimes a whole district, or an entire island, was placed under tabu, during the continuance of which it was excommunicated, no canoe or person being allowed to approach

it. In the tabu season, if it were strict,—for there was a lighter and a more stringent kind,—every light and fire was to be extinguished; all avocations were suspended; on that wave which all the people, young and old of both sexes, loved so much, no canoe might be launched; and in it none might bathe. No one might be seen out of doors; and as the purpose of the tabu would be frustrated by any sound emitted by animal or bird, to prevent such a catastrophe, the mouths of dogs and pigs were tied up; and as for the poor garrulous fowls, after having had their eyes bandaged, they were, by way of further precaution, put under a calabash, and their *quietus* made in double darkness. Such a tabu was a living death. Nothing that the Church of Rome has effected by her severest ban approached its completeness; the silence of an Indian *dhurna* was not so depressing. The sacred chiefs alone, those who claimed origin from the gods, the king and the priests, were allowed locomotion. Before these the common people prostrated themselves with their faces in the dust; but neither priest nor king might touch anything themselves, and food was put into their mouths by other hands than their own. It was at such a season that Cook arrived in Kealakeakua Bay.

This bay is one of volcanic formation. In parts of it, as along the whole of its north-west shore, the deep water is close to land, so that a boat may pull close to the rocks, which are entirely formed of lava, dark, porous, and hard. At other places the bay has a beach composed of the same material; and at the head of the bay the lava rocks rise up steeply; and it would seem that at some time a land-slip or an earthquake had torn away a portion of the cliff, which has sunk below the level of the sea, and has left exposed in the face of the

rock caverns, through some of which can be traced the flow of lava from the volcano. These caves are used for places of sepulture.

Though silence reigned on sea and on shore when the 'Discovery' and 'Resolution' cast anchor in the bay, it is a proof that their commander had quite acquired the reputation of the returned Lono that the tabu was taken off in consequence of his approach. Great numbers of people then went on board, accompanied by a high chief, Palea. With the Hawaiians, Mokualii was the god of canoe-makers, and when the natives saw some of the seamen caulking the vessels, they pronounced them to be Mokualii's clan. Several of the ships' company were smoking cigars, and these received the name of Lono-volcano. Many women, as before, visited the vessels, and numerous persons of both sexes flocked round Cook and paid him divine honours. An old priest, who had once been a famous warrior, approached the captain with the utmost veneration, threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, and offered a pig, pronouncing at the time a long oration. The Apostles at Lystra, when the priests under similar circumstances were preparing to sacrifice to them the garlanded ox, cried out with horror, 'We are men!' and prevented the intended rite; but in the history of Cook's behaviour at Hawaii we do not find that he deprecated the religious ceremonies of which he was frequently the object, or disclaimed the character of the god which the heathen people assigned to him.

The multitudes who were attracted to the bay were very great for a sparse population. Ledyard computed the number of persons at upwards of 15,000, and he states that 3,000 canoes were counted afloat at one time. The latter fact appears more remarkable than the

number of human beings whom curiosity drew to the shore. Cook landed, and conspicuous honours awaited him. The King, Kalaniopuu, was still absent, engaged with his conquest in Maui; but the tabu was broken, and Cook was treated with a more than regal deference,—a demonstration of respect which would have been ludicrous had it not been painful. Heralds announced his approach, and opened a way for him through the crowds that thronged him. Those among the people who were more fearful, peeped at him from the houses, from behind stone walls, and from the tops of trees. As he moved, the assemblage covered their faces, and those nearest to him prostrated themselves on the earth in the deepest humility. As soon as Lono had passed, the people sprang up erect, and uncovered their faces; and some among them not being rapid in their movements got trodden down by the advancing crowd. The evolution of prostration and erection was found at last so inconvenient, and to require so unwonted an agility, that the practical-minded people found that they could best meet the case by going permanently on their hands and feet; and so, at last, the procession changed a good deal in character and appearance, and 10,000 men and women, having little else on them than their nudity, were seen pursuing, or flying from, Captain Cook on all fours.

One feels ashamed at this ovation; ashamed at the degradation of one section of humanity bowing down in such servile sort to their fellow men; ashamed at one's own countryman in his triumph, and for his enduring the profane apotheosis which followed. He was led to the chief *heiau*, or temple, and was presented in great form to the idols; was taken to the most sacred part of the enclosure, and then, being placed on a scaffold, ten men,

bearing a large hog and some bundles of red cloth, entered and prostrated themselves before him: he was encircled in the cloth, and the hog was offered to him in sacrifice, two priests the while chanting an antiphonal hymn in honour of Lono. By them he was led to the chief idol, which, following their example, he kissed.

Indeed, in that mad hour, Cook's own degradation seems to have been equal to that of his ignorant worshippers. He was supported by the chief priest and by Captain King, and placed between two wooden images; then his face, hands, and arms were anointed with chewed coker-nut; he drank *awa*—a drink prepared in a manner most disgusting to our notions,—and finally he ate pork, which had previously been masticated for him by an old man. The natives assert that Cook went through all these heathen ceremonies without the slightest opposition.

Again, on the 19th, Cook visited another temple or residence of priests, taking with him his artist, who sketched the scene. He was treated with the same honours as before; and always afterwards, when he landed from the ships, a priest attended him, and regulated the religious ceremonies which constantly took place on his account.

A collection of histories, traditions, and *Melés* was made in the early days of the Seminary of Lahainaluna by some of the adult pupils, in the native tongue, the volume having the name of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. In this are recorded some of the circumstances of Cook's visit and death in Hawaii. It states, that in consequence of the people's belief that Lono, for so Cook was called by them, was a god, divine honours were paid to him, and all the offerings they were accustomed to make to their deities, were made in a similar spirit to

him. During the prevalence of this belief, the island was heavily taxed to supply the wants and to contribute to the gratification of the officers and crews of the vessels. The people, as usual, suffered; and the screw of despotism, which always pressed on them, received an additional turn in order to keep up the supplies lavished by the chiefs on their visitors. From the Englishmen's point of view all was kindness, liberality, and frankness, and it seemed to them that their arrival had produced a general jubilee throughout the island. This was only in appearance. There was a curiosity mixed with adoration, and a frivolous mirth, which oppressed people easily indulge in; but to the cultivators, the stay of the *haole*, or foreigner, was a heavy burthen, and whenever they found the opportunity, they made reprisals, in the way of pilfering, to recoup themselves for their forced gratuities.

On the 24th the King, Kalaniopuu, returned from Maui, and a change took place immediately in consequence. A tabu was proclaimed, the people were rigidly confined to their houses, and the ships did not receive the customary supply of vegetables, &c. The crews endeavoured to make the natives break the tabu; a chief restrained them from doing so, till he was intimidated by a musket-shot fired over his head from the ships, and the traffic was made to recommence in defiance of the religious restriction.

Two days afterwards the King, attended by his chiefs and by Kaméhaméha, visited Captain Cook in great state. They came in three large double canoes, with all barbaric pomp. In the first canoe were the King and the royal retinue. They wore their bright cloaks and helmets of feathers, the King's being all yellow. In their hands were long shining lances. Under the

brilliant sun as the paddles of the rowers flashed out of the shining water—

> 'The helmet and the helmet-feather
> Burn'd like one burning flame together.'

In the second boat came the high priest and his brethren, bringing with them hideous idols—frightful caricatures of the human being. The third canoe was filled with offerings of swine and fruits. After rowing round the two ships to the solemn chanting of the priests, the party proceeded to the shore, and landed at the observatory, where Cook received them in a tent. The King threw over Lono's shoulders his own cloak, placed his own helmet on his head, and placed in his hands a curious fan, one of the insignia of royalty. He presented other cloaks of great beauty and value. The offerings of pigs and fruit were then made with religious rites and responsive chants. The ceremony concluded with an exchange of names, the greatest possible pledge of friendship. The King and some of his chiefs were then carried in the pinnace to the flag-ship, where they were received with due honour. Cook gave Kalaniopuu a linen shirt, and his hanger or cutlass. This rather reminds the reader of the reciprocity in dealing between the Dutch settlers at New York and the natives there, described by Knickerbocker, and the system of weights established in buying furs, according to which a Dutchman's hand in one scale was a pound, and his foot was equivalent to two pounds.

Profound silence reigned in the bay during these ceremonious visits; no canoe was afloat; and on shore the few inhabitants who were visible were lying prostrate on the ground. Afterwards, at Captain Cook's request, the tabu was removed as far as related to the King's

male subjects, but the females were still interdicted all communication.

On shore, the followers of Lono who wandered about the island, alone or in companies, continued to receive kindness and hospitality. The natives could not, however, deny themselves the enjoyment of pilfering a little; and this infraction of the rights of *meum* and *tuum*, seen by the white men on the *meum* side, led to some small shot being fired at the offenders, and to the flogging a native on board the 'Discovery.' Our countrymen seem to have inaugurated a reign of liberty in that oppressed country,—under which the natives had a perfect freedom to give, but were not at all free to take.

Probably, by this time familiarity with Lono and his followers, and the expensive nature of such intercourse, were producing changed ideas in the natives' minds respecting him. The *Deus ex machinâ* measured but the height of a man, and exhibited in several particulars very human tendencies. Most of us are, intellectually, inclined to the deification of members of our race—to entertain—

> 'proud views of human kind,
> Of men to gods exalted and refined;'—
>
> 'And to make idols, and to find them clay—'

and to feel the consequent disappointment;—and when at last our eyes are opened, and the idol, 'despised and broken,' lies in fragments at our feet, we are sometimes apt to resent the misplacement of our reverence, and the exhibition we have given of our credulity.

A huge mistake was committed, which precipitated the unfavourable impressions commencing in the natives' minds. On the 2nd of February, Captain King, on the

part of Captain Cook, requested of the priests to purchase the wooden fence which surrounded the top of the *heiau*, or temple, for fuel. It was not refused; the wood was given, and nothing was demanded in return for it. Many idols were attached to, or leaned against, the wooden fence of the temple, and these were also carried with it to the ships' boats. King says that he from the first doubted the propriety of the request he had conveyed; and fearing that the taking away the idols would be looked upon as an impious act, spoke on the subject to the high-priest; but the latter simply requested that the central figure might be restored. It is possible that though no open opposition or resentment was shown for an act so much in conflict with the reverence felt by the natives towards their divinities and their temples, it was because they looked upon the living Lono with still greater reverence and fear; or that the

> 'double sacrilege on things divine,
> To rob the altar and deface the shrine,'

struck them dumb by its profane audacity.

Ledyard's narrative of this event differs from Captain King's. He says that Cook offered for the fence two hatchets, which were indignantly refused; and, upon the refusal, he ordered his men to break down the fence and carry it to the boats, he clearing the way for them; that the images were taken off and destroyed by a few seamen, in presence of the priests and chiefs, who had not sufficient resolution to make resistance,—that the hatchets were again offered, but were again refused; that Cook insisted on their receiving them, and thrust them into the folds of the priest's garment to whom he spoke, and who trembled with emotion; and that meanwhile a concourse of natives assembled, expressed their

sense of the wrong in no quiet mood, and even attempted to replace the fence and the idols, which, however, in spite of their resistance, were safely conveyed on board.

Other causes of dissatisfaction followed. The rudder of the 'Resolution' had been sent on shore for repairs. The master's mate, who had it in charge, requested assistance from the natives in carrying it. In giving this help the natives, either in frolic or by design, worked confusedly, and several of them were struck by the mate. A chief who was present interposed, the people mocked the white men, and stones were thrown. The English seamen, seizing some wooden treenails, struck the natives with them about their heads and shoulders. The fray increasing, a guard of marines was ordered from the ship; but they were furiously pelted with stones, and retired, leaving the ground in possession of its rightful owners.

The death of one of the ship's company, and his burial on shore, by proving Lono's followers to be mortal, still further reduced the natives' faith in the divine origin of their visitors. The very eupeptic condition of the white men, their voracious appetites, might not have militated against that idea; but the quantity of food which they daily consumed became highly inconvenient; the island was heavily taxed to provide the necessary supplies the ships required, and the Hawaiians became alarmed by the prospect of a famine. When our countrymen came to be regarded in the light of locusts, their presence, in spite of their higher civilisation, was looked upon as undesirable; and the news that the ships were about to sail, created such genuine pleasure, that the people joyfully collected and took on board a farewell present of food, cloth, and other

articles, exceeding in quantity and value anything which they had previously offered. They received nothing in return for this munificent gift, unless an exhibition of fireworks was considered an equivalent for this and other favours. The pyrotechnical display created among the natives the greatest astonishment and alarm.

On the 4th the ships set sail; but being becalmed in sight of land during that day and the following, the King sent off another present of hogs and vegetables.

It would have been well if intercourse between the white and coloured races had then been discontinued for a season. It is possible that lapse of time might have softened into a pleasing picture the realities of a visit in which good and ill were mingled. The benefits of that intercourse would, perhaps, have been remembered; the evil overcome and forgotten. After a time the natives might have desired to see again the wonderful moving islands and their inhabitants who were armed with such extraordinary powers. On their first visit the white people were beheld with astonished curiosity; at another approach they might have been welcomed with a desire to learn from them.

Unfortunately it happened otherwise. A week after sailing, the ships returned and anchored again in Kealakeakua Bay. As the 'Resolution' had sprung her foremast in a gale, the spar and some damaged sails were sent on shore to be repaired, under a small guard of marines, whose tents were pitched in the *heiau* they had occupied before, and the priests protected the place by proclaiming it *tabu*. The silence, the absence of welcome, struck Cook, and he sent to inquire the cause of the change. He was informed that the King was absent, and had left the bay under a strict tabu. Some degree of intercourse was at length reestablished with

the natives of both sexes, and it is probable that connections formed by the sailors excited the jealousy of the men. Already, at the first visit, a blow had been struck at the integrity of their religion, such as it was. Whilst the chiefs had preserved the tabu on the *heiau* in which were situated the English observatory and workshop, with the utmost strictness, the seamen broke through the protective restriction themselves, and caused the native women to do the same by entering the enclosure at night. The latter did this at first with fear and trembling, but they perceived that they had done so with impunity, and no indignant god had avenged himself of the profanation. Thus the edifice of superstition received a preliminary shake. There remained, however, a general feeling of disapprobation on the part of the natives at the sacrilege they had witnessed, for the hospital and sail-loft had occupied the most sacred part of the *heiau*. As soon as the English had taken their departure on the first occasion, the house so used was burnt.

There was a pervading irritation in the minds of the Hawaiians. It showed itself in disputes about the traffic which recommenced. On the 13th of February, some chiefs ordered the natives who were engaged watering the ships, to disperse. The latter then armed themselves with stones, as if for some attack. On Capt. King and a marine approaching, the stones were put aside, and the work continued; and Cook on being informed of the occurrence gave orders that if the natives threw stones or behaved insolently they should be fired upon with ball.

If we were writing the history of English adventure and daring, we should probably justify and even applaud every action of our countrymen,—as exhibiting the

resolution and skill by which they were guided under all circumstances and in every emergency. The rights, the property, the feelings, the religion of native races, would only be the rudely-painted scenes before which the Briton enacted his noble part to an admiring audience. But writing some transactions which form to a native race part of its history, we cannot look with exclusive favour on one of the two performers; we even place ourselves in the position of regarding the action of the piece from a different point of view.

New causes of offence quickly arose. The same day some musket shots were fired at a canoe from the 'Discovery.' The English narrative states that a theft was the occasion of this act: the natives relate that the foreigners seized a canoe belonging to a chief named Palea, who, whilst endeavouring to recover it, was knocked down by one of the white men. Cook and King did not see this part of the transaction, as they, with a marine, were running along the beach attempting to cut off the canoe by which the theft had been committed. Its occupants escaped them and fled into the country, pursued by Cook and his two associates, who, after a chase of some miles, were obliged to desist. The natives on the shore who saw their chief knocked down interfered, and with showers of stones drove the seamen into the water. The latter swam to a rock out of reach of the missiles. The ship's pinnace was taken and plundered, and would have been destroyed, had not Palea, on recovering from the effects of the blow he had received, exerted his authority. He drove the natives away, made signs to the sailors to come and take away their boat, and restored to them all the articles which could be recovered, expressing his regret at the affray.

The local wound was healed for the moment, but there remained the deeper smart of mutual suspicion. Cook ordered every islander to be turned out of the ships, and doubled the guard at the *heiau*. At midnight a native who was seen skulking about its walls was fired at; and during the darkness, Palea, either to avenge himself of his blow, or for the sake of the iron fastenings, stole one of the 'Discovery's' cutters, which was moored to a buoy.

The morning which dawned calmly on that fair bay was Sunday. It was doomed to be neither a day of rest nor of peace. Cook resolved to recover the stolen boat, and for that purpose he determined to secure the King or some of the royal family, and retain them on board until it was restored. He also gave orders that if the cutter should not be recovered, every canoe was to be seized which endeavoured to leave the bay. The expedition on shore would probably have been led by Clarke, the second in command, but being ill, he requested that Cook would undertake the duty; and so it happened that the adventurous discoverer set his foot on the shore which in a few hours was to witness his death and to refuse him a grave.

When in the year 1823, Mr. Ellis made his visit to Hawaii, he found many persons at Kealakeakua and other parts of the island who were present themselves at Cook's death, or were well acquainted with its circumstances. By the accounts these people gave Mr. Ellis, and from the collection made at Lahaina-luna, the Ka Moolelo Hawaii previously mentioned, the native version of this transaction is distinctly preserved. Their plain, unvarnished tale, is told in sorrow, not in anger, and without justification of themselves. They state that Cook, having come on shore and had an interview with

Kalaniopuu, the two walked together towards the shore, Cook designing to take the King on board his ship and detain him there till the missing boat should be restored. The people seeing this, and having their suspicions already roused, thronged round, and objected to the King's going farther. His wife, too, entreated that he would not go on board the ships. Kalaniopuu hesitated; and whilst he was standing in doubt, a man came running from the other side of the bay, crying, 'It is war! The foreigners have fired at a canoe from one of their boats, and killed a chief.' On hearing this the people became enraged, and the chiefs were alarmed, fearing that Cook would put the King to death. Again his wife, Kanona, used her entreaties he would not go on board, and the chiefs joined with her, the people in the meantime arming themselves with stones, clubs, and spears. The King sat down; and Capt. Cook, who seemed agitated, began walking towards his boat. Whilst doing so, a native attacked him with a spear. Cook turned, and with his double-barrelled gun shot the man who struck him. Some of the people then threw stones at the Englishman, which being seen by his men in the boats, they fired on the natives. Cook endeavoured to stop the firing, but on account of the noise he was unable to do so. He then turned to speak to the people on shore, when some one stabbed him in the back with a *pahoa*, or dagger, and at the same time a spear was driven through his body. He fell into the water, and spoke no more.

This account agrees very nearly with Captain King's. King believed, however, that he received the thrust of the dagger whilst speaking to the boats to stop firing, and that whilst his face was turned towards shore none of the natives offered him any violence; so that his

humanity in wishing to prevent more bloodshed cost him his life.

Thus fell Cook in mid career. It causes regret to think that his life was unnecessarily thrown away through some failure in judgment and some faults of temper, which his attached friend, King, admits 'might have been justly blamed.' Had he lived longer he might have added more discoveries to his already brilliant list, but his fame would not have increased. The memory of great men usually gains when its light is contracted within a short compass, and when life terminates suddenly in its zenith. It is like the lustrous fracture of a mineral ore. About half-a-million of persons die in Great Britain every year. They go to the grave and are forgotten; but our maritime nation looks back with a fond tenacity of memory to some who have won themselves a name in different paths of honour and adventure. Hundreds of lives have been hazarded to gain tidings of an Arctic explorer; and English youth still throws aside more modern books to read of Cook or the lost La Perouse.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE SEQUEL OF COOK'S DEATH—SUBSEQUENT VISITS.

THE native account says that when the crowd which was about Cook and the King, Kalaniopuu, heard of the death of Kalimu, the chief who was shot in the canoe, it became clamorous for revenge; and one of the people with a short dagger in his hand approached the captain, who, fearing danger, fired at him with his gun. A general contest began, and Cook struck a chief named Kalaimano-Kahoowaha with his sword. This powerful warrior seized him with one hand to hold him, not with any idea of taking his life, for supposing him to be the god Lono he believed him incapable of death. Cook, being about to fall, cried out, which dispelled the chief's belief in his divinity, and he therefore killed him. The seamen in the boat fired on the natives, many of whom were cut down, and guns were discharged from the ship, by which more of the people were killed. The King then fled inland, to the precipice, with his chiefs and people, taking with them the bodies of Cook and four of his companions who had been slain. The King presented Cook's body in sacrifice: the flesh was afterwards removed from the bones in order to preserve them, and the flesh was consumed with fire. Three children, whose names are known, found the heart, and mistaking it for that of a dog, ate

it. Some of Cook's bones were returned to the ship; the rest were retained by the priests and worshipped.

The account of the whole transaction given by Ledyard, who was near his commander when he fell, though fuller and more explanatory, does not differ in any material points from the native narrative—indeed, not more than do any two independent histories of one transaction. The English version gives some names and circumstances which did not come within the islanders' knowledge. Lieutenant Phillips, who had landed his marines to support Cook, was close to the latter, who when he was stabbed, fell with his face downwards into the water, the margin of which he had reached, and immediately expired. Phillips, who was a fine swordsman, threw down his fusee, and engaging the chief who had stabbed Cook, dispatched him with his sword. His guard by this time were all killed, except two, who swam to the boats, leaving the Lieutenant alone opposed to the natives. His brave defence astonished the people who were attacking him; but being at last wounded and faint, he plunged into the sea sword in hand, and was taken on board the boats. As soon, however, as he was safe, one of the marines, who had swum from shore, was seen lying at the bottom of the water. The wounded officer hearing this, ran aft, plunged again into the sea, and brought the man to the surface, and both were taken into the boat.

Captain King was on the other side of the bay, where the observatory was situated, and where the mast and sails of the 'Resolution' had been landed. As soon as the news arrived there of the affray, the natives commenced an attack upon the small force in charge, but were repulsed, and a truce was agreed to, during which

the property of the ship was carried on board. All reverence for the English was now at an end. Insult and injuries followed. The natives erected a breastwork on the beach and sent the women into the interior. Two men, however, brought off to the ship a portion of Cook's remains, and mentioned that the rest of his flesh had been burnt and that his bones were in possession of the chiefs. In consequence of some taunts and bravadoes the crews fired on the natives with the great guns, killing some of them, and slightly wounding the young Kaméhaméha.

On the 17th boats were sent on shore, under fire of the guns, to water the ships. The natives attacked and annoyed the party thus engaged, and they in return, set fire to some houses, which led to the destruction of the whole village. All forbearance seems to have been lost, and the English seamen gave way to their cruel and unchastened passions. They even fired on a man who approached them with the insignia of peace, and was attended by a dozen boys. Not daunted by the fire of the English, the herald reached the commanding officer, and proved to be the priest who had on all occasions shown himself the friend of Captain Cook. He came to expostulate on the ungrateful treatment which he and his brethren had received. Relying on a promise made when the natives carried some remains of the commander on board, that persons and property of the priests should be respected, they did not remove their effects, as did others, to a place of security, and now their trust was rewarded by the loss of their all.

Such is the natural levity of the Hawaiian character and the shallowness of Hawaiian feelings, that throughout these hostilities numbers of native women remained on board the ships, showing no concern when

the heads of their countrymen were brought off to the vessels; and only remarking when the village was burning, that it was a very fine sight.

At last, the next evening, messengers were sent from shore to sue for peace, bringing their usual presents. The conditions required were that the remains of Cook should be restored. The messengers stated that the bodies of the marines who fell had been burnt, except the limb-bones, which were in the possession of the inferior chiefs, and that Kaméhaméha had the hair of Captain Cook. Amongst the presents of provisions which were sent to the ships that night were two from the injured but forgiving priest. We cannot scan motives; but if this lenity and generosity proceeded from the reverence he bore to his supposed Lono, it is an instance of religious consistency and forbearance not very common even in Christian lands.

The next day, all the bones of Cook which could be recovered were brought on board, wrapped in fine *tapa* and adorned with black and white feathers; and on the 21st a high chief came, bringing Cook's gun, his shoes, and some other trifling articles. He informed the commanders that six chiefs had been killed, some of them being the best friends the English had among the natives. On the 21st, the remains of their commander having been solemnly committed to the deep, the ships sailed from the bay. They touched at Oahu on the 27th, and proceeded to Kauai, their first station. Here they did not receive a cordial welcome. A disease had been implanted among the natives, when the ships first visited them, which had occasioned deaths and much suffering. Some goats which Cook had left thinking they might be useful on the island, proved to be a gift of Até, and created a contention which ended in a battle. No longer

under the restraint which superstitious reverence for Lono occasioned, the common people acted towards the English in a troublesome and aggravating manner. On the 12th the exploring vessels finally took leave of the islands.

No sufficient monument has been raised to the great navigator who fell on the shore of Hawaii. A hundred yards from the fatal beach, part of a cocoa-nut tree has been set up in a bed of loose stones and broken lava, on which successive visitors have fixed sheets of copper, with inscriptions punched upon them. Mr. Hill on his visit copied them and gives them in his volume, the earliest being that of Lord George Paulet. The last plate reads as follows :—

'Near this spot fell Capt. James Cook, R.N., the renowned navigator, who discovered this island A.D. 1778. His Majesty's Ship "Imogine," October 17th, 1837.'

Whether the orthography of the ship's name depended on the ship's carpenter who punched it on the copper, or is the error of the copyist, is not discoverable.

About a mile from the bay, at an elevation of five hundred feet above the sea, is another equally unostentatious monument. It consists of a post, ten feet high, set in loose blocks of lava and enclosed in a wall of the same material. The visit commemorated on the copper plate the post bears is in all probability that of Lord Byron in the 'Blonde' :—

'In the memory of Capt. James Cook, R.N., who discovered this island A.D. 1778, this humble monument is erected by his fellow-countrymen A.D. 1825.'

An attempt has lately been made to raise a more suitable memorial to Cook's fame. Her Majesty's late Consul and Commissioner in the Sandwich Islands, General

Miller, was active in promoting this object when illness compelled him to leave Oahu for a time. In England, a few names appeared in an announcement in the 'Times' responsive to a not uninteresting call; but no success appears to have attended the effort made.

Cook had named the group The Sandwich Islands, after his patron, John, Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord North's Administration. It does not appear that there had been any collective native name for the ten islands. Of these the largest was called by the inhabitants Hawaii; and the discoverers hearing the demonstrative article 'O' used, 'O Hawaii,' 'This Hawaii,' understood it as being part of the name; which soft vocable they wrote Owhyhee--not a bad phonetic equivalent. At present when the word Hawaii is used there, it indicates the great island of that name, whilst when the whole group is intended it is expressed Hawaii-nei,—*q.d.*, 'All this Hawaii.'

It redounds to the honour of our own nation as well as to that of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, that the blood-red dawn of intercourse, the violent death of an eminent officer of our navy and some English seamen on their shores, the wrongs and sufferings which unquestionably the aborigines received at our hands, have issued not in strife and acts of war and hatred, but, generally speaking, in works of beneficence on our side, and on theirs in respect and gratitude. Our sovereigns personally, and their government, have shown on many occasions great kindness and consideration to the Hawaiian people and their rulers; have taken a parental and rather unusual interest in a nation which in its nonage exhibited strength and many fine qualities, and which thirsted for that civilisation which they were able to bring to its shores. The Hawaiians have answered these benefits with

a genuine and long-continued affection that is almost filial; and they have, on more than one occasion, desired to place themselves under the English rule by ceding the islands to us. England has within the last few years seen the necessity or the duty of refusing several such offers, when, if ambition only were her impulse, she might have spangled her robe with island possessions.*

The effect which the account of Cook's death produced in Europe was so unfavourable that, in spite of the ardent description given in the journals of the expedition of the beauty and fruitfulness of the islands, no ships visited them for some years. They were set down as being a nation of savage barbarians, cruel, revengeful, and were even accused of cannibalism. The war with America, too, occupied men's minds, and probably indisposed them for adventurous voyages which might be productive of much interest, but of little immediate profit. During their unvisited period the islands were the theatre of long and destructive wars. The true history of Hawaii takes its rise in these fierce commotions; amidst the grim and bloody scenes of which we begin to see a moving figure, a warrior of sterner stuff and of higher aim than the rest, who rose to be a leader of men, who by his talents and powerful will united at last all the separate islands into one kingdom, and became the founder of the present dynasty. This, at the time of which we are now writing, was the youthful chieftain Kaméhaméha.

Among the causes of the rapid decrease of population in the Hawaiian Islands, the wars of this conqueror, then

* Latterly we may instance Borneo, and the whole Feejan Archipelago, consisting of two hundred beautiful islands, which were unconditionally offered to this country a few years ago.

commencing, and long continued, have a conspicuous place. Cook estimated the islands to contain 400,000 people; but he probably overstated the real number, as his data were superficial and deceptive. If at most places where he touched, he saw a crowd upon the beach and fleets of canoes, it must be remembered that many of the same individuals would make their appearance at the several bays, flocking there out of curiosity and from other motives. Unquestionably, the islands were once comparatively thickly peopled. This is seen by the traces of old cultivation, and of public works; but it appears doubtful whether within the last century the population ever amounted to the mass Cook supposed. The subject of the disappearance of the native race is one so important that it will be treated of in a separate chapter.

It is not intended in this place to enter upon the internal history of the islands, which will be slightly sketched hereafter, and we proceed to enumerate the other visitors there before commerce was regularly established. The first ships which arrived were two traders from London, the 'King George' and 'Queen Charlotte,' under the command of Captains Portlock and Dixon, the former of whom had accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage. This visit was in 1786. The conduct of the natives was at first unsatisfactory, but the vessels touched at four of the islands, and, eventually, a fair system of barter was set up. In the autumn of the same year the ships returned. When off Maui, they picked up a canoe with four men in it in an exhausted state; the sufferers were restored by the English crews, treated with great kindness and presented with gifts. On their being put on shore, they were able to tell the story of the white men's humanity.

Captain Portlock seems to have felt the attraction of the islands, for in December we find the ships still there, the chiefs at Kauai showing much kindness and liberality. Captain Portlock touched at the same islands in October of the following year.

About the same time we have a momentary view of La Perouse, as he vanishes into his silent fate. He anchored his frigates near Lahaina, on the windward side of Maui, on May 28, 1786, remaining there only two days, but sufficiently long to form a favourable opinion of the inhabitants, and to suppose that in their shrewd turn for barter he found indications of former communications with the Spaniards. Forty years afterwards the remains of this interesting navigator's ships were discovered on the islands of the New Hebrides.

The next recorded visit was that of two merchant captains, Meares and Douglass, in the 'Nootka' and the 'Iphigenia,' in August 1787. A chief, Kaiana, sailed with the former to Canton, and the friendship formed on that occasion was the means two years after of saving the 'Iphigenia,'—some chiefs of Hawaii having formed a plan for seizing the ship, but the plot was disclosed by Kaiana. The ambitious Kaméhaméha obtained from Captain Douglass, in one of many visits which he made during two years, a swivel gun, some smaller fire-arms, and some ammunition.

The grim stories which had circulated after Cook's death in relation to the Sandwich Islands were now dispelled, and numerous ships from England and America sailed thither and commenced the trade which has enlarged and continued to the present time. The islands were, however, in a state of chronic war; and when men's minds are agitated by one evil raging passion, other passions are easily evoked as wicked as the first. Thus,

in the spring of 1790 an event happened which stains the page with its story of cupidity and revenge.

The American ship 'Eleanor' arrived at Hawaii in the autumn of 1789, and remained there, trading, all the winter. In the following February, she proceeded to Maui, and anchored at Honuaula. Two chiefs of a neighbouring district stole the ship's boat during the night, whilst it was moored under the vessel's stern, the watchman in it having fallen asleep. On his waking he endeavoured to give an alarm, and on doing this a second time he was killed by one of the natives. The boat was successfully taken away, and was broken up to extract the iron it contained, and which was the object for which it was stolen. Captain Metcalf then attacked the village, killed one man and took two others prisoners, and ascertained that the real depredators had come from a place on the coast named Oloalu. Thither he proceeded, planning on his way a great and signal vengeance. The seaman's life which had been taken was perhaps expiated already by the blood shed in return; but the boat, with its oars and its rollocks, its iron bolts and the copper on its gunwale, cried aloud for a larger vengeance, a wider destruction of human life. On coming to an anchor at Oloalu a strict *tabu* was found to prevail there. Death by burning was the fate of any native who should put off to the ship in a canoe. However, the bones of the murdered seaman and some remains of the ravished boat, a reward for both which had been offered by Metcalf, were delivered up to him, and the innocent or ignorant natives asked for the proffered reward. They had not yet read the fable of the Stork, and the Fox which had swallowed a bone. The American captain meditated a *battue*, and formed a design similar to that by which Jehu slew all

Baal's idolatrous priests. 'Yes, you shall have a reward. As soon as the *tabu* is removed, come to me, and I will give you even more than you ask!' Multitudes of people hastened round the ship in their canoes to trade. They were all made to lie on the starboard side, and when all was ready, Metcalf, standing in the gangway, gave the command, and a large gun loaded with musket balls and nails was run out and fired into the midst of the unsuspecting fleet—the terrible destruction being aided by volleys of musketry and small arms. One hundred natives were killed, besides a vast number wounded. This great victory having been achieved, Metcalf sailed for Hawaii; and the bolts and nails of the ship's boat seemed now really avenged. One gives a sigh of relief at remembering that by the Declaration of Independence all fellow-citizenship between this miscreant and ourselves had formally ceased.

But the page of retribution is not yet complete. The 'Eleanor' was accompanied by a small schooner called the 'Fair American,' the crew of which, consisting of five men, was commanded by Metcalf's son, a youth of eighteen. The schooner proceeded to Hawaii, and not falling in with the 'Eleanor,' anchored in Kawaihae bay. A high chief of the island had, for some trifling offence, been flogged by the elder Metcalf on board his ship. Kameeimoku had nourished his burning shame and rage, and had resolved to revenge himself on the first white men that fell into his power. And now the white sails of the little schooner appear in the offing, and the 'Fair American,' like a new Iphigenia, anchors in the fatal bay. The chief with his people boarded her, bringing presents, and suddenly they seize young Metcalf and throw him overboard, and massacre all the crew, except one man, Isaac Davis, whose wounds the natives

bound up, and carried him on shore, where he was kindly treated. The schooner was stranded and plundered.

So strangely is woven the web of events, and so often do we see a hand 'out of evil still educing good,' that we find the shocking transactions just recorded issuing, through apparently small channels, in the after history of the islands, and connecting themselves with the prosperity and peace of the kingdom. Isaac Davis lived to be of service in the islands, and to obtain the respect and love of the people. He received presents of valuable lands near the sea, and was raised by Kaméhaméha to the rank of a high chief. Another seaman became a prisoner in Hawaii at the same time, whose after history is still more interesting and important than that of Davis. This was John Young, boatswain of the 'Eleanor.' He had gone on shore about the time of the 'Fair American's' seizure, and on attempting to return was forbidden to do so by the King. The 'Eleanor' remained two days in Kealakeakua bay, firing guns as signals for Young to return on board; but he was not allowed to leave the island, and the vessel sailed without him. Young became afterwards the trusty servant of Kaméhaméha. Seamen of that day, as of this, were not conspicuous for their education or moral discipline; yet these two men had lived in lands where law and civilisation were the atmosphere which all breathed; and with faults almost equal to those of barbarians, they could not but carry with them some degrees of knowledge and discipline which were not barbaric. Though in their own country their slight acquirements and imperfect training showed but as a candle at noonday, yet when brought into comparison with uncivilised aborigines, these men, by virtue of that slight education, were like the same candle shining in a dark room. Some

Christian virtues, too, adhered to their natures, as the jewels stuck to the flesh which Sindbad threw into the valley of diamonds. Young's career will necessarily form part of the sketch of internal Hawaiian history which is to follow, and it is sufficient to say of him here that he was found faithful, and that he returned the generosity of his patron and the confidence which was reposed in him in the very best way. His character seems to have risen to the emergency, and to have reacted with a humane influence upon the strong but passionate nature of the despotic King he served. His position was also influential as respected his own countrymen and other foreigners who visited the islands; and the last point of interest about him to be noticed is that he was the grandfather of the present young and admirable Queen Emma.

At first the two unwilling settlers made many attempts to get away from the islands; but they were jealously watched, and upon one occasion being caught whilst endeavouring to go on board a vessel would have lost their lives, had it not been for the determined interference of the King. The latter, though ambitious and covetous of power, was made of nobler stuff than many of the chiefs, and was open to the counsel and the persuasions of his two white advisers. He resisted and overcame several plans of Kaiana and others for seizing foreign vessels, though the motive for such robbery was very strong---that of adding ships to his own navy. The 'Eleanor' herself only escaped seizure, and her crew murder, when the chiefs were already on board and about to carry out their plan, by the King's going off to the ship and compelling the chiefs to leave the vessel.

We pass on to a visit made by an English voyager, who to an ardent love for discovery united a noble heart and

most humane disposition. It is Vancouver. He had sailed with Cook; and now, in 1792, returned himself to the islands with the surveying vessels 'Discovery' and 'Chatham.' The first bay he entered was that in which his chief had lost his life; but he came there with no retributive thunders from his guns, but in peace. Dropping 'like the gentle dew from heaven,' he coasts along the islands, enters the bays, and, in passing, he distributes to the chiefs garden seeds and other objects which he thought might be useful to the people. Since his first visit in 1778, fourteen years before, an extensive depopulation had taken place throughout the group. This was due to constant internal wars, and to imported disease. The disposition of the natives had not improved. The greed of gain had entered into their souls, and seemed to be the one motive which actuated them in their intercourse with the strangers. For this they were ready to prostitute their wives and daughters, and to display wantonness in so gross a form that it had the effect of producing disgust and repulsion. Of the chiefs Vancouver had formerly known, one alone remained, and that was Kaméhaméha.

His arrival and stay in the islands is a good deal mixed up with their political history; but as a slight historical sketch is to be given separately, the internal events of the kingdom will only be noticed incidentally and when unavoidable. Vancouver found a foreign trade already commencing, principally in the hands of Americans, and confined to the islands of Hawaii and Kauai, or, as it is spelt in his narrative, Atoovai. The articles sought for were sandal-wood and furs: the former grew abundantly in the mountain districts; the latter would be sought for in vain, considering that the only native animals were hogs, rats, and dogs. The English

who came to the islands were in pursuit of pearls. These were found there, but not in abundance, and were of three colours, white, yellow, and lead-hued. Vancouver speaks in terms of praise of Kaméhaméha, of his good faith, and the kindness he received from him. The King accompanied him from the east to the south-east of Hawaii, whence Vancouver saw the smoke ascending from the mountain range which culminates in the great peak of Mauna Loa. He describes the priests of Pelé as a religious order who performed *volcanic rites*, sacrificing fire productions of the country to propitiate the enraged deity who presided over the burning mountain.

Among things pilfered from his ships were knives; and these were stolen by the natives not so much for the steel blades, as for the ivory handles, to be converted into a species of neck ornament considered sacred, and which were ordinarily made of fish-bones. Having already become acquainted with the productions of Europe and America, the islanders had ceased to care for objects of mere ornament, and preferred in their traffic cloth, hardware, and useful articles. It has to be written with shame, that the white men occasionally taught, by example, lessons of dishonesty, and even worse faults, during their intercourse with the Hawaiians. Scant measure, inferiority of quality in the goods sold, and frauds more destructive in their effect, characterised at times their dealings. When Laing and Clapperton were engaged in their African exploration, they took with them, among articles of barter, needles. These were properly packed, and labelled 'Whitechapel Sharps,' and had not been examined before being used in trade; but the manufacturer, for the small saving of labour, omitted to drill the eyes of the needles; and the few shillings gained by the fraud had nearly cost the travellers

their lives, so great was the indignation of the tribe who took them in exchange when they discovered they had been deceived and cheated. In the same way, some of the muskets sold to the Hawaiians were so wretched that they burst the first time they were fired,—often producing dangerous injuries to those who used them, and leaving safety only to those against whom they were employed.

Ill faith on one side may be the model, but it cannot be the excuse for malpractices in the other party to a transaction. Unquestionably the islanders acted at times in accordance with their savage nature, and with a cruelty which they had not required to learn from civilised nations. On the 11th of May, in the year of Vancouver's visit, an English store-ship, the 'Dædalus,' approached Oahu, and lay off Waimea, on the north side of the island. Its advent seems to have produced all the amazement that was excited by Cook's arrival at Hawaii in 1778. The first thought of the natives was that the coral rocks were floating, and when they saw the officers and crew they took them to be gods on account of the brightness of their eyes. Unfortunately, whilst the seamen were watering the ship, a dispute arose between them and the inhabitants which resulted in the death of a Portuguese sailor. Lieutenant Hergest, who had charge of the shore party, and the astronomer, Mr. Gooch, not aware of the *fracas*, had wandered to some distance and fell into the hands of a lawless band of natives, who, it appears, owned allegiance to none of the local chiefs. Again the same process was gone through as with Cook: —first, there was the belief that the foreigners were divine, and belonged to the expected Lono; then the discovery that they were mortals, which seems to have been a sufficient signal for attack, and the two unfortu-

nate officers were killed. The 'Dædalus' worked nearer land, and fired on shore till evening, when she took her departure. The presence of parties of depredators roaming about the islands was a consequence of the kings and chiefs being engaged in their dissensions and wars.

In February 1793, Vancouver returned to Hawaii. He had taken a voyage in the meantime to the north-west coast of America, and he had brought from California some cattle, intending to leave them at the Sandwich Islands, with the benevolent design of their introduction there. They had, however, all died on the voyage, except a bull and a cow, which he landed, but the cow died soon afterwards. Vancouver speaks of Kaméhaméha with much admiration; he saw him possessed of great and unusual qualities, and in his intercourse with the famous warrior, he took the opportunity of instilling into his mind counsels of wisdom and humanity. The King's sagacious mind seized with promptitude the opportunities offered him, and he seems to have become impressed with the idea of the possibility of lighting in his benighted land the lamp of civilisation from the torch brought to him by the English navigator. Another remarkable person came on board Vancouver's ship. This was Kaahumanu, Kaméhaméha's favourite queen, who plays a conspicuous part in the subsequent history of the islands. At the time now spoken of she was but sixteen, beautiful in person and pleasing in manner. In after life she grew inordinately stout; but the force of her will and character kept pace with her bodily dimensions, and made itself felt in the mastery she obtained over every one who approached her, native or foreigner. Her name, like that of her husband's, has become a dynastic title, and is assumed by the female premiers to this day.

Vancouver was able, before he left the islands, to present Kaméhaméha with five cows and some sheep. In return for this kind act the chief gave the most valuable object he possessed, his own war-cloak, pierced with spear holes, which he desired might be made a present to George III., with the injunction that as no other person than its possessor had hitherto worn it, so it was to grace no other shoulders than those of the King of England. Vancouver also made an attempt to bring about peace between the inhabitants of Hawaii and those of the other islands with which they were at war. His counsels were listened to respectfully, but did not produce the desired result; and the chiefs of Hawaii, on their part, asked his assistance in bringing all the islands under their dominion, which centralisation of government seems to have shown itself to them as the only real means of putting an end to hostilities. Vancouver proceeded to Maui, and repeated his lessons of peace to the chiefs at Lahaina. At Oahu he earnestly lectured the people on the distinctions between right and wrong, and impressed upon them the principles of justice and humanity. Here was an English seaman, unpretendingly, and almost unconsciously, acting as a Christian missionary. More than a quarter of a century elapsed before the seed then scattered showed life and put forth leaves; and long before Christianity was publicly brought to the islands, Vancouver was sleeping in his grave; but the leaven, hidden, and even forgotten, seems, nevertheless, to have been working towards the remarkable events of 1819 and 1820.

To stamp on the native mind the great lesson of retributive justice, Vancouver considered it proper to punish the people of Oahu, for the murder of Lieutenant Hergest, of the 'Dædalus,' Mr Gooch, and the Portu-

guese sailor. The chiefs of the islands cleared themselves before him of any complicity in the crime; and three men had already been executed by their orders for participation in the murder. However, as Vancouver determined to bring the matter into the light of day, three more men were sent on board his ship and tried; and after evidence which seemed satisfactory as to their guilt, sentence was passed on them, and they were handed over to their chiefs, by whom they were shot before a large concourse of people. It is true that it was afterwards affirmed that the three men who were thus killed were not the real murderers, and that they were sacrificed to appease the English captain's anger. If this were so, it is to be regretted that so good a man should have made so great a mistake; and that the execution which he ordered should have taken effect on innocent victims. Vancouver's vessels left the islands on the 30th of March. He returned for his last visit in January 1794; and among other matters which signalized his stay, a vessel was built and rigged, and named the 'Britannia.' The work was done by the ship's people, assisted by an English carpenter in the King's employ. Vancouver also brought about a reconciliation between Kaméhaméha and his favourite queen Kaahumanu, who had been separated from him through jealousy fostered by unfriendly chiefs. He gave the King excellent advice as to the discipline of his troops and his political conduct; urged the advantages of peace, the folly of idolatry, the oppressive evil of the *tabu* system, and made known to him the one true God, Creator, Ruler, and Judge of all nations and all men.

Vancouver's visit placed the British in a new and more favourable light with the native race. The impressions of events at and following on Cook's death

were in a great measure done away; and the people rightly conceived England to be the greatest maritime power in the world. As such, they sought her protection. They considered that she alone could secure peace and the unification of the entire group under the sway of the Hawaiian King. That some repressive power was needed became apparent before Vancouver left; for the inhabitants of Maui made a descent upon Hawaii, and though they were driven back, the event seems to have been the determining cause of the King and chiefs ceding Hawaii to this country. This was done on the 25th of February, on which day the chiefs assembled on board the 'Discovery,' and Kaméhaméha made a formal declaration of submission to the monarch of Great Britain. He was followed by other chiefs, who in speeches stated the advantages they expected to derive from the cession of their country.

Mr. James Jackson Jarves, a candid and industrious historian, but an American citizen, says, in his account of the transaction, that the meeting on board the sloop was, 'as the natives with more justice state, "to request the King to protect our country."' That might have been the motive, but the act itself was to make an absolute cession of the island, not simply to place it under a protectorate; for after the King's declaration, Lieutenant Paget went on shore and planted the English colours, and took possession of the island in the name of His Britannic Majesty. A salute was fired, and the natives shouted, 'Kanaka no Beritane!' 'We are men of Britain.'

Vancouver left a certificate with Kaméhaméha recording the event, and the document was carefully preserved for a long time. It ran thus:—'I beg to inform all visitors, that on the 25th February, 1794, at a grand

council of the principal chiefs of this island, assembled on board His Britannic Majesty's ship under my command, Kaméhaméha made the most solemn concession of the island of Owhyhee to His Britannic Majesty, his heirs, &c.; and himself, with the attending chiefs, unanimously acknowledged themselves subjects to the British Crown.'

Although out of the order of this narrative, it may be well to relate here, that a few years afterwards, when Kaméhaméha had gained possession of the islands of Maui and Oahu, he wrote to George III., acknowledging him as his sovereign; and finally, when he had completed the conquest of the entire group, he wrote again to that monarch, in the following terms:—*

'His Most Sacred Majesty George III., of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., &c.

'Brother,—We, Kaméhaméha, King of the Sandwich Islands, wishing to render every assistance to the ships of his most sacred Majesty's subjects who visit these seas, have sent a letter by Captain Spence, ship 'Duke of Portland,' to his Majesty, since which Timoree, King of Atooi, has delivered his island up, and we are now in possession of the whole of the Sandwich Islands. We, as subjects to his most sacred Majesty, wish to have a seal and arms sent from Britain, so as there may be no molestation to our ships or vessels in those seas, or any hindrance whatever. Wishing your Majesty a long, prosperous, and happy reign,—I am, Brother,

'Kamehameha.'

'Woahoo, *August* 6, 1810.'

The reason which Vancouver assigns for the voluntary

* The letter is given in a pamphlet by Mr. Alexander Simpson, 'On the Progress of Events, &c., in the Sandwich Islands.' Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843.

cession of Owhyhee to H. B. Majesty, and which he accepted, is that the inhabitants were now commercially acquainted with four nations whom they were informed were equally powerful with the English, but that they deliberately preferred the latter. In making this transference of power, great ceremonies were used. Religious rites were celebrated in the great Morai, to which Vancouver could not be admitted without going through certain restrictive observances; one of which was that he should not be wetted with sea water, or even sprinkled with it; and another, that he was to shun the society of those who did not attend the ceremonies or worship in the temple. Profound silence reigned in the temple, broken only by prayers uttered in the lowest voice, scarcely audible, for His Britannic Majesty, &c. The King repeats the prayers after the priests in the same scarce audible tone; then in the profound silence he seizes a hog, the legs of which are bound with cords, and dashes it to death on the ground. If the animal had made a moan or any sound, the sacrifice would have been ineffectual.

King, and chiefs, and people, were entangled in the complex net of idolatry; often chafing under it, yet unable to escape from its meshes. Hitherto they had seen no alternative; and to change one system of gods for another, was only to pass from bondage into bondage,—the inwrought sacerdotalism ruling over and pervading equally all the systems. The King and some of the chiefs seem, however, to have seen, far-sightedly, that the white visitants were animated by other motives than their own pagan religion, and that they possessed a higher instruction in morality; and after making the cession of their islands to a nation which they, seeing only the foot of Hercules, perceived to be great, powerful, and

wise, they requested of Vancouver that on his return to England he would procure religious instructors to be sent to them from the country of which they now considered themselves subjects. Vancouver did not forget the earnestness of this appeal; and, on reaching England, he urged on the Minister, Mr. Pitt, the advantage of sending clergy to Hawaii. That was not a missionary age. It was not the accusation of that generation that they would compass sea and land to make a proselyte. That one prayer for religious light made to this land was unattended to and forgotten. The revolution was raging in France. Englishmen had shuddered or shed tears at the story of a monarch publicly murdered by his subjects; and the best excuse that can be offered for the cold indifference exhibited when the Hawaiian nation asked spiritual help of our country, is that England was absorbed by events nearer home, and was preoccupied in averting dangers which threatened her own stability.

The prayer for English teachers was unanswered at that time. The Hawaiian nation and its ruler continued to wear the heavy chain of paganism, and Kaméhaméha did not live to see the introduction of Christianity in his kingdom; but the desire expressed in 1793 seems to have become traditional, so that when in 1820 the first American missionaries arrived in the Sandwich Islands, it was enquired whether these were the religious instructors whom the King and chiefs expected from England. Finding that they were not, there was much opposition to their landing; and it was only on the assurance of the English settler, John Young, that these missionaries came to preach the same religion as those whom they expected, that they were permitted to come on shore.

Vancouver took his final leave in March 1794; and in 1798 this amiable man closed in death his eminent but short career.

In the year of his departure, Captain Brown, master of the English ship 'Butterworth,' discovered and surveyed the harbour of Honolulu. As arrivals of ships became frequent after that time, it ceases to be interesting to refer further to their visits, with the exception of the two made by Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, Beechey, in H.M.S. 'Blossom.' The volumes containing the interesting narrative of his voyages and discoveries in the Pacific and Behring's Strait, published in 1831, are very well known. Beechey's first visit took place in 1826. The 'Blossom' left Tahiti on the 26th of April, and arrived at Honolulu on the 20th of May. The rapidity of this passage had left the impressions of the former island strong on the mind and on the eye, and it was the contrasts between the two places which first struck the voyagers. They missed the green and shady forests which skirted the shores of Tahiti; and after intercourse with its effeminate inhabitants, the Hawaiians' darker complexion and coarser features, together with a wildness of facial expression, impressed them at first unfavourably; but they subsequently learned to respect these signs of a manliness and boldness which were deficient in the Sybaritic people of the more southern group. Other symptoms, indicating the footsteps of civilization upon the islands, met their eyes. The forts in the harbour, the cannon, the ensign of Kaméhaméha displayed on the ramparts of a fort mounting 40 guns, and at the gaff of a man-of-war brig and of some other vessels, rendered the distinction between the two countries still more evident. Old familiar words in their own language greeted them as

they walked up the town, already laid out in streets and squares. In one place was the notice, 'An Ordinary at One o'clock;' at another, 'Billiards;' here was the sign, 'The Jolly Tar;' there (and we fear at a considerable distance), 'The Good Woman.'

The reception met with from the King and the chiefs (including *Madam* Boki), was friendly in the extreme; and as far as possible all the wants of the ship were supplied. Some astronomical and other observations were taken, and Mr. Lay, the naturalist of the expedition, being in ill health, was left under the protection of one of the chiefs, who, in compliment to the great minister, had adopted the name of Pitt. Early in June the 'Blossom' sailed for Kamschatka. She returned to Honolulu in January 1827. By this time the etiquette of exchanging salutes had been established; and with such forms intercourse was conducted in a land where thirty years before the naked savage had struggled in deadly conflict with armed Englishmen. No doub the contrast impressed the visitors, as Romans from the capital would have been impressed who visited Britain a century after the Julian invasion, and marked the transition taking place in our barbarian ancestors. The products of civilized nations had immediately become a passion with the Hawaiians, and they, being very imitative, instituted many things which were properly in advance of their then state. There were not only hotels at the time of Beechey's visit, but Kaahumanu's furniture numbered sofas and cushions of silk and velvet, and she had in her chests (perhaps wardrobes), the most costly silks of China. The Chief Boki had presented a service of plate to the King, for which he had given three thousand dollars. Boki had similar services himself; and his glass was from Pellatt and Green

in London. The King was always attended by a guard under arms; soldiers paced the ramparts of the fort; and in the stillness of the night, there fell on the Englishman's ear the soothing and familiar words, 'All's Well.'

## CHAPTER IX.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—'A DUST OF SYSTEMS'—'THE LONELY ONE.'

IT would be a waste of time to give more than the merest outline of the internal history of Hawaii before its intercourse with European nations and with America. Each island had its king, its chiefs, its dissensions, its 'oppressed nationalities.' To enumerate the rulers of the eight islands would be uselessly to encumber the page with native names which the reader could not pronounce, and would not try to remember. All that will be attempted here is to describe very rapidly the dynastic condition of the Archipelago; dwelling, for a few minutes, on the more salient points of its story, in order to show how the eight separate fibres of government were twisted into a single thread, by the wisdom and determination of one man, at about the beginning of the present century.

The bards, however, could recite from memory the names of seventy-seven successive kings; and if only five years be allowed to a reign, the traditionary history would extend through nearly 400 years. But the reigns were probably of greater average length; since the first three Kamehamehas occupied the present

century till the year 1854, when the late king ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one, and reigned ten years.

An unavoidable pun, arising from dissimilarity of languages, must be made in recording that the mother of the islands was *Papa*. She created the Kalo, and her history involves the doctrine of metempsychosis. It is unnecessary to say that she lived in very early times. Descending, in a bound, to a period when a king was at least half-man in his nature, we come to Akea, the first King of Hawaii. At the termination of his reign, he passed into a region beneath, named Kapapahananaumoku ('the island-bearing stratum'), and there founded a kingdom. Akea was succeeded in the monarchy by Miru, the Hawaiian Pluto, who, when he died, descended to 'that uncomfortable place below,' and shared the kingdom with Akea. The subterranean realm has been invested by the native traditions with strange fanciful poetry. It is a land of darkness. Its inhabitants feed upon lizards and butterflies; they drink from streams of water which flow there; they recline beneath wide-spreading *kou* trees and large *kahiris*—(insignia, formed of feathers on a tall handle, round which they are set cylindrically). Some of the natives described the *hades* of departed spirits, as 'a bourn from which no traveller returns;' but by others it was said, that occasionally a newly-arrived soul, after having been questioned by Miru as to the doings and pursuits of the kings and people above, was sent back to the *ao marama*, 'region of day,' with a monitory message, to desire them to descend to his kingdom. These visitations were rare, and little was generally known of the land of Kapapahananaumoku except what was communicated in dreams and visions of the priests.

The Hawaiian kings for many successive generations resided frequently at a town called Honaunau, on the western side of the island, a little south of the bay where Cook met his death. This place was formerly of greater importance than it is now. It possesses two interesting objects:—the *Hare o Keave*, a mausoleum containing the bones of about eight generations of kings; which bones are carefully cleaned, and tied up in bundles. A great number of frightful idols keep guard within and without the regal ossuary. The other place of interest is a sacred enclosure adjoining this building, being one of the two *pohonuas*, or cities of refuge, which existed on the island of Hawaii. After the unification of the islands the King and chiefs resided generally at Lahaina or Maui.

The kingly office was hereditary, but not purely so. The King could nominate his successor even though he possessed offspring of his own. In matters of succession, owing to the great laxity of the marriage tie, the female descent was preferred, and a female always occupies the next place to the King in the State. Her office is now called that of Premier. It is stated in tradition that, on two or three occasions, queens have reigned in the island; and among the chiefdom many were, and still are, females. There is no reason to doubt that at first, as with the beginning of other kingdoms, the strong man ruled, and that the Hawaiians, like other nascent nations, adopted

> '. . . the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.'

Kings and chiefs having attained this social superiority, maintained it with effect. Because they were strong,

they were enabled successfully to fortify their position and become yet stronger. They admitted the priesthood to somewhat equal privileges, and they found the advantage of having their aid, as they then possessed the means of coercing the common people, both by bodily force and through mental influences,—those of induced fear and superstition. They held the people in the most complete subserviency, and the whole system was rigorously feudal. By the *tabu*, and the plan of forced labour, called *hana poalima*, the chiefs reduced the commonalty to a servile and tributary condition; whilst having abundance of food, rest, and shelter themselves, the physical difference between the chiefdom and the common people became so marked, that it caused a doubt in some observers' minds whether the chiefs could be of the same race with the plebeian population. The chiefs, male and female, attained to great height, strength, and size, and had in later life a strong tendency towards obesity.

With respect to the Crown, Wilkes* says, that in former times there was no fixed succession, and that the practice affecting it varied. Even when the right of descent became established the rank of the mother was an element in deciding the successor. Thus the eldest son and daughter of the first Kaméhaméha, who had several wives, were set aside in favour of younger children by a wife of higher birth than their mother. And with regard to female succession, the same writer instances Queen Keokeolani, who, two generations before the discovery of the islands by Cook, held the throne, although she had several half-brothers, but who were of lower rank on their mother's side than her own.

* 'Nar. U. S. Exploring Expedition.'

The King would also occasionally appoint a younger son to be his successor.

With all these variations and irregularities, however, the nation preserved the pyramidal form, into which all societies crystallize with as much certainty as Maldon rocksalt. There was the kingly apex; the chiefs, of several grades; and the great substratum of the people. We have had ample and new opportunity lately of seeing that the pyramid of society, like that in architecture, is the most enduring form—a form of divine original; and that when it is attempted to truncate or reverse the figure, it falls into flatness and a ruin.

The King's power was absolute, and the system was strictly feudatory. The King gave lands and whole districts to chiefs, who, in their turn, lorded it over the people in the most arbitrary manner. When the King was personally weak, the true power lodged in the chiefs; and the King, though still suzerain, was rather in the position of a great chief, exercising control over his own reserved possessions, but with little influence as a monarch. Like John and his barons, he had sometimes to engage in domestic wars with his feudatories. A king of stronger will would claim his true position and power, and not remain content with being himself little more than *primus inter pares*. The rank of chiefs, priests, and officers of state was hereditary; indeed, there seems to have been some approach to *caste* in the continuation of occupations and offices; nevertheless, the power of nomination to all offices remained in the King, who would occasionally raise men from humble rank to the foremost stations. He could create Wolseys, when the 'sterner stuff' of which ambition is made was not deficient in the subject. Thus Kamé-haméha raised Karaimoku, surnamed William Pitt,

after the great Englishman, his contemporary, to a rank second only to his own. This man, originally a chief of the third or fourth rank, was advanced to be prime minister, and he held, in truth, the actual government of the islands. In this and some other cases the discernment or the mere affection of the monarch unearthed a gem of real value. The same remarkable man was equally happy or equally foreseeing when he conferred high rank on the English seaman John Young; for in him he also had a servant of great capacity and of the highest importance to the welfare of the nation.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that when Cook arrived at the islands, Kalaniopuu was King of Hawaii. He appears to have been not one of the '*rois fainéants*,' but to have possessed the actual as well as the nominal power of the monarch. His reign extended through thirty years, and, as stated above, he conquered the neighbouring isle of Maui and added it to his kingdom. It was also mentioned that during Cook's stay in Kealakeakua Bay, in January 1779, Kalaniopuu, who had just returned victorious from Maui, paid him a visit in great state, and that he was accompanied in his canoes by the young chief Kaméhaméha. This man, whose name is so closely associated with the Sandwich Islands, and whose life and exploits form so material a part of their history, was born about the year 1754, probably at Kalaua, a large district on the north-east coast of Hawaii, which district he inherited as his patrimony. At the time of his introduction to Captain Cook, he would be about twenty-five years old. He possessed a vigorous constitution, and was unequalled in his acquaintance with all the warlike games and athletic exercises of his country. His mental conformation was in keeping with his

*physique.* At an early age he was distinguished by his enterprise, energy, and decision of character, and by that quality so essential to success, an unwearying perseverance in the accomplishment of his objects. He had associated to himself a number of young chiefs, his own contemporaries, whose attachment and cooperation he secured, and into whom he instilled his own daring spirit and resolution. Such was the ore on which time and opportunity were to work. When he first immerges on our sight, in Captain King's narrative, his appearance is not prepossessing. He is described as having the most savage face ever beheld; its natural ugliness heightened by a dirty brown paste or powder plastered over his hair. The diamond was in the rough; yet, stirred by a restless energy, and beckoned onward by an irresistible ambition, we shall see him step forth from among his companions, the foremost man—the Bonaparte of the Pacific.

Kaméhaméha had the unusual advantage of having two fathers. He was at once reputed to be the son of Keona, brother of the King Kalaniopuu (Cook's Tereobu), and he was equally claimed as the offspring of Kahekili, King of Maui. As he received inheritances from both claimants to his paternity, he could scarcely object to an arrangement which in many cases might be felt embarrassing. This patrimony he cultivated and improved whilst he was young and before entering upon public life, with the same industry and intelligence which characterized him at all times. He laboured with his own hands in one of his fields, which in consequence received his name; and his companions, following his example, selected other spots for their personal industry, and to which their names became attached. As Mr. Ellis walked through the

scene of Kaméhaméha's youth, a chief who accompanied him pointed out with pride many memorials of his late sovereign's energetic youth. 'These groves of *noni* trees,' he said, 'were planted by Kaméhaméha before his beard was grown.' He showed a perpendicular pile of rocks on the shore, one hundred feet in height, through which the young chief and his companions had dug and formed a good road to the sea, with a regular descent, in order that their fishing-canoes might be drawn up and down; and in another place he had dug through several strata of rock and lava in the endeavour to procure water, but was unsuccessful, —the material offering at last too great a resistance by its hardness to the imperfect tools which were employed.

In 1782 an event occurred which changed the current of Kaméhaméha's life. Kalaniopuu, King of Hawaii, died, leaving his dominions jointly to his son Kiwalao and his reputed nephew Kaméhaméha, who, however, was to be subordinate to Kiwalao. The island was divided between the two heirs, the son receiving the fertile districts on the south and east of Hawaii, whilst the nephew's portion embraced the mountainous and wilder regions along the western and northern coasts. Heron-legged Até was not long in seeing in this arrangement an opportunity for discord, and she threw in her lighted brand of strife, by which the whole island quickly became enkindled.

The name of Kaméhaméha given to or assumed by the young chief has the meaning of 'the solitary' or 'the lonely one.' It is a name very well appropriated by ambition, which, in the midst of men, dwells apart on the high mountain of its own dreamy egotism, ready to use or to sacrifice its willing and devoted adherents—

never admitting them to the inmost enclosure of its own purposes and hopes and weaknesses.*

It cannot be told now whether Kaméhaméha had hitherto conceived such ambitious views, leading to kingly power, as afterwards brought into action all his bodily and mental powers, and made him glance beyond the limits of the small archipelago, soon to be all his own, for fresh conquests; or whether the particular position in which he found himself lighted the lamp within his breast, which had previously been kept filled and trimmed, and ready for the taper that should make it burn;—and whether, like young Saul, a new heart was given him as soon as he saw power within his grasp. He was, however, quickly called upon to act. The calmness of the sea which washed the shores of Kona, one of Kaméhaméha's newly-acquired districts, excited the cupidity of the chiefs of the neighbouring country of Hilo, which was the possession of Kiwalao, and they desired to obtain it for a fishing-ground. Having gained over Kiwalao to their views, the Hilo chiefs embarked in a war-canoe, carrying with them the remains of the late king, and sailed for Kailua, the chief town of Kona, under pretence of performing there the solemn rites of sepulture. A sudden storm, however, obliged the invaders to land at Honaunau where the House of Keawe was situated, the mausoleum of the Hawaiian kings, and there they deposited Kalaniopuu's corpse.

* 'Wakeful he sits, and lonely and unmoved,
Beyond the arrows, views, or shouts of men;
As oftentimes an eagle, ere the sun
Throws o'er the varying earth his early ray,
Stands solitary, stands immovable,
Upon some highest cliff, and rolls his eye,
Clear, constant, unobservant, unabased,
In the cold light above the dews of morn.'

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, '*Count Julian.*'

One of the chiefs, Keeaumoku, father of Kaahumanu, secretly detaching himself from the rest, hastened to Kaméhaméha, and acquainted him with these proceedings; and in his absence the invading party concerted measures for seizing on the whole of Hawaii. Consistent with his character, at once bold and cautious, Kaméhaméha immediately approached his enemies' camp, had an interview with Kiwalao, and the two leaders were in appearance reconciled. Kiwalao, to satisfy his disappointed chiefs, divided his own territories among them; but Keona, the reputed father of Kaméhaméha, dissatisfied with his share, marched off in a rage, with his followers, determined on war and plunder. Unrestrained by the ties of blood, he entered his son's possessions with force and arms, cut down trees, and engaging in a skirmish fatal to several, 'cries havoc, and lets slip the dogs of war.' Hostilities thus commenced, quickly enlarged. The furious chief was joined by the king who did him wrong, Kiwalao; and with all their united forces they threw themselves upon their perfectly innocent rival Kaméhaméha. There was a fierce battle, in which Keeaumoku, the discoverer of the plot, was sadly wounded, and was called derisively the 'yellow-back crab.' Not content with dagger-wounds, and that unkindest cut of all, the epithet, his enemies poured upon him to rob him of a very valuable whale's tooth, which the chief wore round his neck. The movement attracted Kaméhaméha's attention, who, seeing his friend's danger, rushed to his rescue, charging the enemy furiously. The weak, but not ill-meaning, king, Kiwalao, got knocked down with a stone in the *mêlée*, — an opportunity which the 'yellow-back crab' saw and did not neglect, but jumping up, all smarting with his wounds, put a quietus to the fallen king with a sword.

The immediate effect of this *coup-de-grace* administered by his adherent was to terminate the biarchy, and to leave Kaméhaméha sole ruler of Hawaii. A rout of Kiwalao's party took place, some of them seeking shelter in the place of refuge at Honaunau, others flying to the mountains and the sea. The kingdom was destined to be no quiet possession. The unnatural Keona and another chief seized on the fertile possessions of the late king lying on the westward side of the island, practically leaving Kaméhaméha little more territory than he had before. Divisions and desertions, however, soon followed among the hostile party. The King recommenced the war, and an obstinately-contested engagement took place, terminating in a drawn game, in which victory declared for neither side. Kaméhaméha immediately marched upon Hilo, one of the provinces wrested from him, and in a skirmish received so dangerous a blow on the head as nearly to have finished his career.

It is very advisable in those not actually engaged in a war to remain strictly neutral. It is dangerous to declare for either party whilst results are at all doubtful. This truth was practically discovered by Kahikili, who had obtained the sovereignty of the four large islands lying between Hawaii and Kauai, the latter of which, the extreme north-westerly member of the group, being also in the possession of his ally Kaeo. Kahikili sent assistance to the opponents of Kaméhaméha, who in return invaded Maui, the island nearest to Hawaii in its ruler's absence, and defeated his son in a very bloody battle. So great was the carnage, that the little river Iao was dammed by the dead bodies of the foe; many of the warriors being hurled down the precipice from the narrow defile where the fight took place, and from

which there was little opportunity of escape. It was in this severe conflict that Kaméhaméha's extraordinary powers fully discovered themselves. His immense strength was already known, and his personal courage was an established fact; but now were seen other qualities necessary to a general and a ruler of men. He possessed an observing eye, and a cool sagacity that enabled him, as he watched the contest from a commanding point, to issue clear and judicious orders; but when the enemy's shock was greatest, when his own battle reeled or wavered, then he hurled himself into the midst, like a descending Mars; and his animating presence and the resounding tones of his deep voice, gave new life to his men and turned back the forefront of the enemy.

The battle of Kepaniwai, 'the stopping of the waters,' has been celebrated in many *melés* or historic songs. These unwritten compositions are marked by simplicity and feeling, and have about them the minor and melancholy cadence of the Ossianic poems.

In the meanwhile Kaméhaméha's chief opponent on Hawaii, Keona,* had again invaded the provinces of

* Jarves speaks of Keona as the brother of Kalaniopuu, the previous King of Hawaii, whilst Ellis mentions him as his son, and cousin, therefore, to Kaméhaméha. He may indeed be a different person, though having the same name as the reputed father of Kaméhaméha; and it was customary for persons at pleasure to change names with one another, or to assume new ones. The difficulty of identifying persons is increased to us by a certain degree of similarity in the construction of the names, and from the circumstance of the same name being spelt in at least three different ways by different writers. To this must be added a general indistinctness of parentage, before alluded to, and which would hardly allow the Hawaiians to be addressed in the spirited language of a patriotic Dixie song—

'Ye are sons of your sires,—
(In all probability')—&c.

the former; but was opposed by Kaiana, a distinguished warrior of Kauai, the same who has been mentioned as having made a voyage to Canton in an English vessel. On his return, in the 'Iphigenia,' Kaiana found evil influences at work against him in his own island; and, being invited by Kaméhaméha, he settled in Hawaii, and for his services received large possessions there and high rank. He was a splendid specimen of his race; six feet five inches in height; very handsome in face and figure; active in mind and warlike in disposition. He had improved the opportunity for observation which the voyage to China gave him, and he returned to his country laden, not only with mental acquirements, but with material stores of arms, ammunition, and other European and Asiatic articles—possessions which gave him great advantages at home. From this time fire-arms became by degrees introduced into the wars of the islands, and whilst they sharpened the conflict, they shortened the fight. Traders, who now began to visit Hawaii, found guns and ammunition ready subjects for barter; they also commenced implanting among the chiefs the taste for ardent spirits,—a taste so new to them that spirituous liquors were at first offensive to them. Would that they had ever remained so, and that the original aversion had never been overcome!

The war proceeding in Hawaii was not without its omens. Natural phenomena not only disheartened the army of Keona, but, like a destroying angel, suddenly transfixed a number of the combatants in death. There is situated on the island a volcanic mountain of great size, Mauna Kea, which has been already described. Keona's troops, accompanied by their wives and children, were descending the mountain by three nearly parallel paths, separated from each other by some little distance.

As they marched, a sudden and very violent earthquake and eruption of the mountain took place, attended with noises exceeding thunder in loudness; the earth shook and rocked beneath their reeling feet, and a shower of ashes was thrown high into the air, filling a circuit of many miles. The foremost of the three divisions appears to have been nearest to the centre of energy; a few of their number were scorched to death, but the great majority escaped. The division in the rear were subjected to the same phenomena, which were quickly over, and the people hastened forward, to come up with their companions who were in advance. As they approached the central division they discovered that the people had halted,—some of them apparently calmly sleeping on the ground, whilst others were sitting upright with their wives and children embraced in their arms, or pressing their faces together in their usual manner of salutation. They spoke to them, but there was no reply; they touched them, but there was no motion; they examined their comrades more closely, and discovered that they were in the camp of Death. Every human being of those four hundred was stiff and lifeless, killed by the mephitic vapours that had issued from the mountain. One living thing alone was left among them. A hog was turning up the earth in search of roots, indifferent to that terrible scene of death in life.

# CHAPTER X.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH—KAMÉHAMÉHA THE CONQUEROR—INEPTNESS FOR THE LYRE.

THE force under Keona, dispirited and reduced in number, were soon afterwards met by Kaiana and by Kaméhaméha, who had now (1791) returned to Hawaii, and were routed with but feeble resistance. Keona fled to Hilo and led a vagrant life there for two years. In 1793 he determined to throw himself on the conqueror's clemency. Having obtained permission of Kaiana to pass to the shore, he proceeded to the coast with a few friends, that he might sail round to a bay on the north-west of the island, where Kaméhaméha was at that time. Kaiana lent them canoes for the purpose, and they went on, fanned by alternate hopes and fears, stopping at various villages along the coast; and at each place where Keona touched, the people brought presents of food and other things, and by every means demonstrated their affection for the chief. Some wept when they saw him, for joy at his visit; others wept in sadness at his departure, with foreboding fears for what his fate might be. He was casting a hazardous die in surrendering himself to his enemy. Generosity is a frequent halo of the most savage warfare; but here too much of the conqueror's future success and peace depended on his rival's existence or death. Nevertheless, whilst Keona remained at Paraoa, the last village at

which he landed, he received comforting assurances of Kaméhaméha's good-will towards him. On the third morning he took leave of his friends there, and directed his canoe towards Kawaihae.

Kaméhaméha was encamped in that bay; and, on the arrival of Keona and his doomed companions, was standing with his chiefs on the beach,—Ellis adds, with the intention of protecting him. Jarves says that the King had determined to rid himself of a valiant competitor, and one who had been so prolific a source of trouble to him. The evidence is conflicting; but the fact is of importance in the estimate we make of the man's character. Possibly he hesitated. His warriors knew enough of his feelings towards his rival generally; and when a monarch finds the life of a Beckett inconvenient, there will not be wanting Tracys to turn his indecision into resolve and his desire into action.

Whatever the King and other chiefs might determine, there was one who had no doubts as to the expediency of Keona's death. This was our former acquaintance, Keeaumoku,—'the yellow-back crab.' He was the Joab of the piece; having Joab's devotion to his master, and all his disregard of blood. This chief, fearing, says Ellis, that Kaméhaméha might frustrate his purpose if Keona's canoe were allowed to land, waded, above his middle, into the sea, and, regardless of the King's orders and the expostulation of the chiefs, seized the canoe with one hand and with the other stabbed Keona to the heart as he sat in the stern. Having dipped his hand in blood, he proceeded to murder seven of the chief's companions and friends who were in the same canoe. In another boat were a younger brother of Keona, and some others, whose lives were saved by Kaméhaméha's interference. Jarves says that orders had been issued

to Keeaumoku to entice the chief on shore and assassinate him. Ellis reports, what we would more willingly believe, that Kaméhaméha and many of his chiefs regretted his death; and that the murderer justified his act on the ground that there could have been no peace or security if Keona had been allowed to live. He acted on Bentham's doctrine of the greatest happiness to the greatest number.

And now Kaméhaméha was sovereign of all Hawaii, which in area is equal to two-thirds of the whole group. The island of Maui, with the small adjacent ones of Lanai and Molokai, which he had lately subdued, taking advantage of his absence, threw off their newly-acquired yoke, and returned to allegiance to Kahikili their former king.

The visits of Vancouver, which took place in 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1794, have been already noticed. He observed with regret the depopulation which had been caused in the islands by war since his first coming there with Cook, in 1778. He was also struck with the powerful character and the abilities of Kaméhaméha. His countenance, which Captain King described, had changed with years, and its look of stern ferocity had softened into an expression of firmness mixed with dignity. Time, which makes black tresses grey, had done something; responsibility, difficulties encountered and to be encountered, and the stimulus of ambition, had effected more. His carriage was majestic, and all his motions were indicative of an uncommon mind. His eyes were dark and penetrating, seeming to read the thoughts of those about him, and the most courageous quailed before his angry glance. In figure he was Herculean; his general disposition and bearing were frank, generous, and cheerful. His sagacity was always

on the look-out for opportunities of improvement and of aggrandizement. He gained much in his intercourse with the benevolent Vancouver, who, though he could not force his actions, yet influenced him by wise counsels which were remembered long after they were given. He had a decked vessel built for the King, which was named the 'Britannia;' and he assisted him in forming and drilling a regular body-guard, armed with muskets and divided into day and night watches. Here was the commencement of the small standing army still maintained in the islands. Polygamy was customary among the people, and especially among the chiefs. Kaméhaméha's favourite wife was a beautiful young girl named Kaahumanu, who herself became remarkable afterwards for her character and influence. Among Vancouver's kind offices, was the reconciliation he brought about between her—she was then but eighteen—and the King, who had separated from her owing to her alleged intimacy with the chief Kaiana; and he had the pleasure of reuniting their hands on the deck of the 'Discovery,' she making the naïve request that Vancouver would beg Kaméhaméha not to beat her any longer. Vancouver used all his efforts to put an end to the civil wars; but in this he did not succeed. When, in March 1794, he took is final leave of the islands, he left behind him a name and a memory long lovingly cherished by the people he had so earnestly striven to aid; a memory unsullied by acts of wrong and violence, and a name which they will not willingly let die, and of which our own nation may be proud.

Intercourse with white men, and especially his conferences with the estimable Vancouver, afforded Kaméhaméha glimpses of a new and wonderful world beyond the limiting horizon of his own ocean. What he saw

were only indications of, or scintillæ from, the great distant light; but he learned from them something of the grandeur of nations that had enjoyed civilization through the dreary ages in which his own people had existed in darkness. These strangers were strong; they were enlightened, and they were Christians. Could he not introduce among his own people something of civilization and of Christianity, that they too might grow strong, or at any rate stronger, with the strength which was in the Europeans. Imbued with this idea, 'Kaméhaméha and his chiefs, after the cession of Hawaii to the British sovereign through Vancouver, on the 25th of February, 1794, expressed a strong desire to the latter to have religious instructors sent from England.' And so definite was their wish that they should be British teachers, that 'when the first American missionaries arrived, there was much opposition to their landing, on the ground that they were not the religious instructors whom the King and chiefs expected from England.'* Kaméhaméha never became a Christian: and it is possible that his invitation to clergymen from this country, proceeded from a belief that through their means the islands might be advanced in material prosperity and political importance.

In the history of most nations there rises up a man who, if unable to play the lyre when it is handed to him, has the power of changing a small town into a great city; one who by his genius and force of character constructs his country into what it afterwards continues to be, or causes it to spring forward in his own lifetime with an advance equal to several generations. Such a man was Kaméhaméha. He is well entitled to his surname

* Mr. Wyllie's Despatch to me, 14th December, 1859.

of 'the great,' both on account of what he was and what he did. If it be objected that his greatness was upon a very small scale, it is enough to answer, that there may be a great ruler of a small nation, as there may be a very small ruler of a great people. It may be said that he was cruel, disregardful of human life. He was more humane than his predecessors; and, being engaged in wars, regarded life perhaps with no greater indifference than that with which it is treated during war by the enlightened commanders of Christian countries, who work the problem on the chess-board of the field of battle, and often throw away their pawns with little compunction. He practised polygamy: that was in accordance with the custom of his country. Christianity has sanctioned and enforced monogamy, and society has been the gainer by it; but moral science had not enlightened the Hawaiians on the relations of the sexes, or given them statistics by which they might see, from their nearly equal numbers, that the appointed combination of men and women is a binary one.

We resume the story of Kaméhaméha's life. He now found himself surrounded with difficulties. The three islands he had lately conquered had revolted from his authority; and the powerful chief Kaiana who had been so great a support to him, led away afterwards by ambitious projects of his own, had become his opponent, and a deep dissatisfaction had for some time existed between them. It was on account of a supposed intimacy with Kaiana that the quarrel with his favourite wife Kaahumanu, and their consequent separation, had taken place. His attached but unscrupulous adherent Kameeimoku, whose seizure of the 'Fair American' and murder of young Metcalf have been previously related, also occasioned him trouble. The people of Maui even

made a descent upon the coast of Hawaii, but were repulsed. After Vancouver's departure, war broke out. Keao (King of Kauai) uniting forces with Kahikili, King of Maui, sailed in a large fleet of canoes for Hawaii. They were met by the naval force of Kaméhaméha, at the head of which was the schooner 'Britannia' bearing the King's flag and armed with three brass guns. In the action which took place, his enemies were conquered and dispersed; the aged Kahikili died soon afterwards; and later, Keao, who attempted to seize his ally's dominion in wrong of his nephew and successor Kalanikupule, was killed in battle.

Kaméhaméha's three brass guns must be looked upon as an indication of advancing civilization. It is true that before proof we should not have selected such an index; but we find that among what is called, rather sarcastically, the European family of nations, the carrying and destructive powers of projectiles, and the resisting powers of steel plates, are adopted as the ultimate test of the progress of the arts; and that in the peaceful convocation of nationalities held in London in the Exhibition of 1862, Miniés, Armstrongs, Whitworths, and Lancasters had the place of honour beside models of 'Gloires' and 'Warriors,' to the exclusion, possibly, of other things which might be taken as clearer symptoms of universal concord.

In 1795 Kaméhaméha invaded and reconquered the islands of Maui, Lanai, and Molokai, and he prepared for the subjugation of Oahu, to which Kalanikupule, the heir of Kahikili, had retired. Throwing himself on the island with part of his troops (his entire army now consisted of sixteen thousand warriors), he left the main body to follow him, under command of the estranged and now treacherous Kaiana. The latter looked on the

King as a rival, and was struck with the opportunity presented to him of crushing him at once. Instead, therefore, of hastening to his master as he had been instructed, he deserted, with the whole of the troops under his command, to the enemy. Perhaps he had not calculated on the energy and elasticity of Kaméhaméha's nature, who, as soon as he heard of this great defection, marched to the Valley of Nuuanu, which has been already described as running up from the city of Honolulu, and terminating in a remarkable precipice or *pali*. Here he found his enemies encamped in what they supposed to be an inpregnable position, being on a steep hillside, and protected in front by a stone wall. Young, who accompanied the King, made such practice with a field-piece, that the wall became, instead of a defence, an instrument of destruction to the Oahuan army; the stones multiplying the effect of each shot fired. The renegade Kaiana fell, and the ranks of troops were soon so disordered that they broke and fled.

Then occurred that terrible slaughter which has been mentioned in the description of this locality. The routed troops were driven up the narrow valley to the brink of the precipice, and four hundred of them, it is said, fell headlong from it and were dashed to pieces on the rocks below. Those who have seen the remarkable fortifications at Namur, will remember that Vauban has made use of a similar position in the defences; between the parallel walls there are turfed spaces terminating suddenly in faults or breaks of some thirty feet depth, towards which it would be the object of the garrison to drive an attacking force that had gained entrance.

Kalanikupule was amongst the slain. Those who escaped fled to Kauai; and Kaméhaméha, by his decisive victory, was left sovereign of the island. His immediate

intention was to have reduced the two remaining islands of Kauai and Niihau; but his fleet was driven back by violent adverse winds, and the project was deferred to another season.

The islands were suffering greatly from war whilst our new Augustus was wading through blood to a throne of peace. Kaméhaméha is computed to have lost six thousand of his troops, and the losses of his opponents had been far greater. Scarcity prevailed; the hateful brood of war—pestilence, famine, and cruel oppression,—followed behind her chariot; and the depopulation of the islands went on at a rapid rate. Among other troubles, a rebellion broke out in Hawaii, headed by Namakeha, brother to the late chief Kaiana. Some collisions, also, took place between the natives and the crew and officers of H.B.M. sloop 'Providence,' under the command of Captain Broughton. In retaliation for an attack made on a landing-party at the island of Niihau, the English burnt several houses and destroyed sixteen canoes. This island, however, had not at that time submitted to Kaméhaméha.

His restless desires of conquest were now extending beyond his own little archipelago; and as soon as he had subjugated Kauai, his intention was to have sailed for Tahiti. This idea was frustrated by the insurrection in Hawaii, which required his presence. He accordingly proceeded there at once, slew Namakeha, and put an end to the rebellion.

If Kaméhaméha had had no other qualities than those of a self-taught general to whom war was an exciting game, as cricket is to our own youth, his title to our consideration would not have been great. His nature rose above the mere man-slayer's, civilized or savage, and showed itself in administrative talent and in the

manner in which he established his power after asserting it. He had shed blood freely; yet to the conquered he showed more leniency than might have been expected—more, probably, than natives were accustomed to receive from conquerors. He was not neglectful of extending his influence by donations, through which powerful chiefs became bound to his interest, or by marriage alliances, as a means of settlement and consolidation of the kingdom. In the latter respect, polygamy is singularly convenient; and a king whose marriage partnership are not limited, may, by judicious courtships, add many appanages to his crown. Kaméhaméha had taken prisoner, when he conquered Maui, Keopuolani, granddaughter of Kalaniopuu, a lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Maui and Hawaii; from being his captive, he now made her his wife, an arrangement attended with most satisfactory results. Kalaimoku, who had fought against him, and also become his prisoner, had his life spared; and such clemency was shown to him as converted him into an attached friend and counsellor. The descendants of the late king Kahikili were liberally provided for. Other chiefs and the people received his beneficence, and experienced such humanity that their transfer to a new master was found by them a change not to be regretted. To many generous impulses Kaméhaméha added the kingly faculty of apprehending character, and of enkindling those about him with his own natural resolution and energy. With regard to Kauai, the most westerly of the larger islands, he contented himself, for the present, with the nominal submission of its king; and thus, finding himself ruler of the entire group, he entered, at about the age of five-and-forty, upon a more peaceful phase of life, dwelling for some years in Hawaii, and afterwards living much

at Lahaina, a beautifully-situated town in the island of Maui, and now second in importance only to Honolulu.

His time, though spent in peace, was not passed in idleness. He was diligently occupied in establishing his power on a permanent basis. The feudal tenure of lands had been previously an acknowledged principle throughout the islands; but Kaméhaméha, by virtue of his recent conquests, was able to reduce the theory to very practical conclusions; and he claimed the entire and absolute ownership of the land, which he divided among his followers on the tenure of their paying him a portion of its revenue and rendering him military service. We have hitherto considered the feudal system of the Normans to be a very distinctive one; yet here we see, almost at our antipodes, its perfect parallel. It illustrates the fact that corresponding ideas are sometimes independently born in different nations, as in different minds, among which there has been no intercourse and can have been no collusion; and ethnologists should learn a lesson of caution from it, not to declare, from identity of institutions, the identity or even the cognation of races.

Kaméhaméha added to the principle of his being himself the source of all property and office, the rule of hereditary succession: but he did not make this rule invariable, as he retained to himself the power of confirming or dispensing with inheritances. He appointed on each island a governor, to whom it appertained to nominate chiefs of districts, heads of villages, tax-collectors, and all petty officers. The tax-gatherers, not being able to write, kept their accounts by a method not unlike the ancient tallies in the English Exchequer. Upon a cord several hundred fathoms long, the several districts were indicated by knots, loops, and tufts of various size,

shape, and colour; and by other ingenious devices the taxable articles and rate of impost were marked upon it.

Kaméhaméha instituted a council of chiefs, with whom he advised on all important measures. At the head of this was Keeaumoku, his father-in-law, a chief mighty in strength, and warmly attached to his master, but unscrupulous in shedding blood when expediency required it, as has been seen in his assassination of Keona. He had, in addition to his council, a number of 'wise men' (a sort of Saxon Wittenagemote), who assisted him in organizing laws and regulating the minor affairs of his kingdom. He enacted laws against murder, theft, and oppression; peace was everywhere firmly established; and, compared with former times, his people had entered upon a golden age, sitting every one under his vine and under his fig-tree, with a general security for old and young, for the innocent and the helpless. It is this part of Kaméhaméha's reign which entitles him to the name which has been, perhaps fancifully, given him, of the Hawaiian Alfred.

## CHAPTER XI.

HISTORICAL SKETCH—KAMÉHAMÉHA THE KING—HIS DEATH —'I COME TO BURY CÆSAR, *AND* TO PRAISE HIM.'

KAMÉHAMÉHA showed his political sagacity in his relations with the chiefs. To those whom he could trust, important posts were given. Young was made Governor of Hawaii, and held that position for many years. Those chiefs who were dangerous from their own ambition, or likely from weakness to be involved in the intrigues of others, he retained about his person, taking them in his train wherever he went, keeping them away from their own domains and under constant observation. Thus Davis remained always near the King, but enjoyed large possessions and was freed from taxation. The two Englishmen assimilated themselves to the native manners, and won popularity by their usefulness and humanity.

The warrior monarch, now in peace, was not one whit less a king. Henry the Eighth and 'King' Elizabeth could not have entertained higher views of royal dignity and prerogative than did Kaméhaméha. He assumed great state, and the people had less access to his person. All the ancient king-customs were rigidly enforced, and were added to. Wherever he went, all people uncovered their heads and shoulders; and they were obliged to do this when they approached any residence where the

King was, and even upon hearing his attendants' cry as they carried his food to or from him. A greater nudation was required whenever his servants touched any article;* and no one might cross the shadow of the King or of his house. His drinking-water was brought from certain springs many miles distant; and his chiefs were obliged to observe ceremonies, obsequious in a greater or less degree according to their rank. Nevertheless, he was too wise to let material advantages suffer by his seclusion or routine; and to promote agriculture and the fisheries, he set the example of diligence by occasionally working at each pursuit with his own hands. With foreigners also, he kept some barbaric state; but in his desire to examine the finer specimens of shipbuilding, and the manufactures and arts of other countries, he would often put aside all forms in visiting vessels which came, and, after one ceremonious visit, would row himself off to them in a canoe, and go on board without any restraints of etiquette. He made great use of his remarkable powers of observation, and soon began to found some of his own institutions upon foreign models, according to the insight he could obtain of them. He collected a small fleet of foreign-built vessels; erected forts; mounted batteries of heavy guns; drilled his soldiers, and gave them a uniform. He engaged in his service a number of European and American artisans and seamen; and he had the wisdom, in his treatment of these his foreign subjects, to liberate them from the troublesome etiquette which the highest of the

* An etiquette tedious and inconvenient, if constantly observed. It recalls the story, lately current, of a reigning German prince who, rigorously insisting that no person of his household should approach him except in white gloves and a white cravat, was startled by the literal obedience of one of his attendants, the gentleman entering the Duke's presence dressed in white gloves and white cravat *only*.

natives were obliged to pay, whilst he kept them submissive to order and his own authority. It is not to be wondered at that the port of Honolulu became very well known, and much resorted to by ships; and in all parts of his dominion foreign vessels and their crews were welcomed and well treated; whilst ships of war and those commissioned for scientific purposes received his marked attention and hospitality.

His domestic life must be judged of with reference to the customs of his country and race. Kaméhaméha had two publicly-acknowledged wives or queens. To Kaahumanu he was warmly attached. By her he had a daughter, born in 1809. His other queen, Keopuolani, grand-daughter of Kalaniopuu, former King of Hawaii, was of much higher rank. She took precedence, and her issue became successors to the throne: but this was a marriage of state expediency; and as his attentions to her were enforced, and he was to her at least a very intermittent husband, she was allowed the same privilege as himself, and had another husband, Hoapili, with the King's full consent. Besides these two wives, Kaméhaméha had Kekauluohi, daughter of Kaiana, his late premier. She had been educated for him from a child, a royal virgin brought up in the strictest seclusion and with the utmost care. Their marriage appears to have been hardly more than a nominal one, and after the King's death she became the wife of his son. Besides these he may have had other heterogamous connections, —not essential to this history.

The royal family by Keopuolani consisted of Liholiho, born in 1797, and invested in 1809 with regal honours, in order to establish the succession to him. This was the king who died in London; Kauikeaouli, born in 1814, and who succeeded his elder brother, under the name of

Kaméhaméha III., and died in 1854; and a daughter, Nahienaena, born in 1816, dead many years since.

When Kaméhaméha finally doffed his war-cloak, his designs for subjugating Tahiti were also abandoned. It was probably the surplus energy of manhood's noontide that made him look round for new worlds to conquer. Later in life, his relations with Pomare were very amicable and neighbour-like. Kind messages and friendly gifts frequently passed between the two sovereigns, separated from each other by forty degrees of latitude; and a project for a double marriage in the royal families was set on foot; but the death of the son of Kaméhaméha, who had been selected to marry the daughter of Pomare, took place, and the plan collapsed.

Once only after the reign of peace had commenced was it in actual danger of being broken. In 1801 Kaméhaméha, like the Israelitish king who remembered that Ramoth-Gilead was his, but in the enemy's hands, considered that Kauai had yet to be conquered; and he proceeded to Oahu, the island nearest to Kauai, from which it is distant about a hundred miles, to make preparations for war. The soldier, tired of a repose which had certainly not been indolent, felt all his martial ardour return, and he spent two years in equipping a sufficient army and fleet. It was a modern one in construction compared with the former system, when men fought almost naked, without defensive armour of any sort, their weapons the spear and dagger, Death stalking the field in a most unattractive and uncompromising form. Now, the army consisted of seven thousand native warriors and a contingent of fifty white men, mostly armed with muskets; and for artillery it could muster forty swivel guns and six mortars, with ammunition in abundance. The fleet, too, was equally changed.

The line of battle was formed of twenty-one small schooners, the largest about fifty tons, some of them carrying guns and commanded by Europeans. Supporting these was a cloud of war-canoes; and in 1804 there was added to the navy the ship 'Lady-bird,' mounting twenty guns, which the King had purchased of the Americans.

Kaumualii now reigned in Kauai, having succeeded his father Keao. His nature was noble and chivalric but inconsistent. He had the devoted attachment of his own subjects, and not less that of the foreign residents who had entered his kingdom. He was humane, intelligent, and an encourager of commerce; but in military talent he was not to be compared with his adversary, and in force of will was greatly his inferior. Kaméhaméha's volition was of iron,—Kaumualii's was of Venetian gold.

There is something romantic in the whole of this transaction. In continuing the history of a little kingdom far away in the wastes of the Pacific, we are constantly surprised by what seem like reproductions or faint echoes of memorable European events. Here we have another Henry of England and another Francis of France in the earlier and more generous period of their lives, emulating one another in chivalrous deeds. Kaumualii, supported by his devoted people, who were pretty well armed, and possessed European weapons and ammunition, prepared to resist the invader. During Kaméhaméha's protracted preparation, the King of Kauai sent him repeated messages of defiance, and finally threatened to descend on Oahu, and carry war there. Kaméhaméha determined on the bold step of going with one of his officers to Kauai to examine the condition of the island, and he was urgent on Captain

Turnbull, who was then at Hawaii with a merchant vessel which he commanded, to convey him there; but his request was refused, and the visit was not made.

When Kaméhaméha's army was at last ready to embark, a very fatal epidemic broke out among the troops, and spread over the islands, causing a great mortality. Three hundred corpses are said to have been carried out to sea from one place in a day, and the King was himself attacked by the disease. He lost at that time several chiefs who were his most valuable advisers. Kaumualii, notwithstanding his defiant cartels, fluctuated much in his mind. Courage and terror played see-saw on his heart; and, for a last resource, he prepared a vessel in which he and his family might fly the island in case of a defeat. Even this suggestion had something romantic about it. Launching their little ship upon the wide untravelled waves, they were to ask the winds to waft them to a new home in some undiscovered islands, and there found a new dynasty.

The occasion, however, for such a desperate step never arrived. Kauai was not invaded, and its king took another proceeding as desperate and as romantic. An American captain then at Honolulu, whose own interests depended upon the maintenance of peace in the islands, proposed to Kaméhaméha that the former should sail to Kauai and endeavour to persuade Kaumualii to return with him to Oahu, and there to negotiate with his adversary. The offer was accepted; Kaumualii, too, acceded to the proposal; and the first officer of the American vessel being left in Kauai as a hostage, the king sailed for Oahu, to cast himself upon the good faith of Kaméhaméha, who had pledged his word for his safety, —and whose word was respected and believed. His truth and honour were established facts. The solution was perfect. There was a sort of Field of Cloth of Gold.

There were princely greetings and festivities, exhibitions of arms and demonstrations of friendship. The golden will gave way to the will of iron, and Kaumualii ceded his kingdom to his great entertainer. Kaméhaméha had the generosity not to accept this concession, or to take advantage of his noble rival now within his power and influence; but in lieu, it was arranged that the island of Kauai and the small isles adjoining should be held in fief, having its king's particular rights respected, and that, in return, they should be protected by the greater power of Kaméhaméha. Thus the 'ancestral voices prophesying war,' were hushed, and the last fiery cloud passed away from Hawaii-Nei,—United Hawaii.

Kaméhaméha was able after this episode to devote himself to the advancement of his kingdom, in carrying out public works, and in maintaining friendly intercourse with foreigners. He acquired the English language in speaking, though he never learned to write it. After remaining nine years in Oahu he sailed for Hawaii, where he passed the rest of his life, residing principally at Kailua, on the western side of the island, and at Kealakeakua Bay, the spot where Cook had met his death. He built some large heiaus, or temples, and constructed extensive fish-ponds, which, being mostly formed by sea-walls enclosing part of the coast, were works requiring great strength. One of these, at Kiholo, is remarkable for its size. A small bay there, about half a mile in width, runs into the land. Kaméhaméha enclosed the bay by building a wall across its mouth twenty feet wide and six feet high, having several arches filled with a grating of stakes, which admitted the water, but prevented the escape of the fish. The space or pond enclosed was two miles in circumference. He devoted himself warmly to commerce, and in the latter part of his reign made some steps towards a direct trade

with the Russian settlements. The great article of export was sandal-wood, and in one year wood to the value of 400,000 dollars was shipped. In return for this the natives procured foreign objects in abundance. Kaméhaméha fitted out a ship on his own account, loaded her with this valuable wood, and sent her to Canton. The officers on board were English, but the supercargo was a Hawaiian. This was the first occasion of the national flag being seen in China. The flag adopted has eight horizontal stripes, representing the eight islands of the kingdom, with the English union at the upper left corner. From heavy port charges, extravagance of the captain and supercargo, &c., the whole proceeds of this valuable adventure were dissipated; and on the vessel's return the King found that, instead of being enriched by his argosy, it had brought him into debt. Practical in his character, he gave up kingly trading; and seeing that a great deal of his money had gone in port charges, he took a hint from his own loss, determining to increase his revenue by a similar impost; and harbour fees were accordingly established at that time.

The first horse seen on the islands was landed in 1803 from a Boston vessel. Terror mingled with admiration was felt by the natives when they beheld the noble animal, so much larger than any of their few indigenous quadrupeds. Other horses, soon after, reached them from California, and they rapidly increased in numbers, the people becoming daring and incessant riders. The King was a good horseman, and was pleased to exhibit his feats of equitation.

Whatever ideas Kaméhaméha had formed of Christianity during his intercourse with the generous Vancouver, and whatever was his anxiety at that time and thereafter to procure teachers of religion from England,

EWA, FROM HONOLULU.

the Christian profession was, unfortunately, during the subsequent years of his reign, not presented to him in an attractive aspect. There were seamen nominally Christians, but their conduct was not likely to illustrate the purity of the Gospel; there were some English convicts, who had escaped from our penal settlements and found their way to Oahu, the riotous and quarrelsome behaviour of whom would not advance in the King's eyes the religion which white men were supposed to follow; there was even a clergyman on the islands, but he was a recreant one, who had forsaken his profession, and would be little likely to impress others with the value of holy living, which had had so little power over himself. Some persons, whether English or American does not appear, did make an attempt to convince the King of the truth of Christianity. Their zeal was greater than either their reasoning or their persuasive capacity, and they were holding an argument before a man of strong will and acute reason. They were unsuccessful in results; and, at the conclusion of a highly-coloured appeal about the power of faith, Kaméhaméha pressed on them the crucial test of throwing themselves, in faith, from the top of a neighbouring precipice,—his belief to be dependent on their safe arrival at the bottom of it.

So, to the end of his life, the King continued devotions to his idols. He was probably a very sceptical worshipper; but he looked upon the national religion as a great state instrument, which it was better on his part to support by his patronage. He built a temple or house for his special divinity, and at his mortal sickness his last prayers were made to his feathered god Kukailimoku. It has been seen that the subject of religion had not altogether escaped the attention of

visitors to the islands; but most of those who came there were unfitted to promote its holy cause, and the great majority were ignorant and indifferent about it. Some, however, more thoughtful than the rest, were struck with the great advantage to be gained if the religion of Christ could be authoritatively taught to the people. Such was the view of Captain Turnbull, the commander of an English merchantman, who, on returning to this country in 1803, suggested the sending out missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, a field which he thought more likely to be successful than Tahiti had showed itself. Whatever efforts Turnbull made to accomplish this object, they fell to the ground, and England at that time did not send out the light and truth of which she was a favoured depository.

In personal habits Kaméhaméha must be considered moderate. He and his subjects acquired a fondness for rum, which had been introduced by foreigners as an article of trade. The King drank it, but not intemperately, and he kept the monopoly of spirits in his own hands, and thus was able to restrain its use among his people;—an important thing to do, for peace now being universal, the Hawaiians might, in order to testify the relief they felt, have fallen to heavy drinking.

For dress he adopted, with good sense, such articles of European costume as were suitable to his own climate. On occasions he appeared in uniform, of which he had several rich suits. By recommendation from this country the Windsor uniform was assumed.

Towards the end of Kaméhaméha's reign, the oppressive system of the tabu began to be infringed on and frequently broken. This thraldom was deeply interwoven with their religious system, although the King or a high chief could lay on a tabu at his own pleasure.

Light was breaking in upon the native mind, but at present only fitfully. The people showed their freedom, but with trembling; and were obliged to assert new views in secret, open violations of their superstition being still visited with vindictive punishments. In 1818 the last case of capital punishment occurred for breaking the tabus or religious restrictions. One man was then killed for putting on a chief's malo, or girdle; another for eating something which had been tabooed; and the third for leaving a house under tabu and entering one which was not so.

The first man-of-war which entered the harbour of Honolulu was the Russian ship 'Rurick,' Captain Kotzebue. This was in 1816; and, on her sailing, she exchanged salutes with the batteries of the port,—an etiquette which took place for the first time.

In the year 1819 the King was seized with the sickness which terminated his life. There is very little privacy in Hawaiian houses. Persons of both sexes remain at night, even in the sleeping-chamber of the possessor, talking or smoking; and during illness, at a time when we consider quietude to be particularly necessary, the kind zeal of friends leads them to remain in the room, or go in and out in considerable numbers. It was thus with Kaméhaméha in his last illness. Priests, doctors, chiefs, with officious affection, crowded about him, and must have made his last moments very unendurable. They brought him food and new idols; they carried the moribund King from one house to another,—at one time arranging so as to have his head in one house and his feet in a dwelling adjoining. In spite of—may we not say in consequence of?—all these attentions his weakness increased. At about midnight of the 7th of May he was seen to be sinking. A little food and a

cup of water were pressed upon him, but he was no longer able to swallow. The chiefs about him then begged the King to give them his counsel; he was unable to speak. As a last resource, they carried him from the eating-house to his dwelling, there being separate houses for different uses. Then one of the chiefs addressing him said, 'Here we all are; your younger brethren, your son Liholiho, and your foreigner (meaning John Young). Impart to us your dying charge that Liholiho and Kaahumanu may hear.' Kaméhaméha faintly enquired, 'What do you say?' Kaikoewa repeated, 'Your counsels for us.' Making a last effort, the King began, 'Move on in my good way, and—' but strength failed him, and he spoke no more. Young, the foreigner, embraced the King and kissed his dying master. Great was the respect and affection which had sprung up between these two men during an intercourse of many years. Hoapili also embraced the King, whispering something in his ear. Twice more he was carried from one house to another, and at 2 A.M. of the 8th of May he expired.

It is very much to be regretted that Kaméhaméha was unable to express to his heir and to his devoted followers those counsels and last instructions which they entreated. The dying words of all persons are received reverentially and preserved with a pious care; but the results of a life so remarkable as this Hawaiian chief's, and the practical conclusions he had himself drawn from the chequered drama of which he had been the protagonist, would have possessed a great value to his own people, and would not have been uninteresting to studious observers of character in other countries. It must also be remembered that before the art of writing was acquired, a will by word of mouth was the necessary form of dis-

position of honours and property. The words of a testator or donor, especially when formed into distiches or doggrel rhymes, were retained with accurate fidelity by the hearers, and handed down by bards or those nearly interested with almost as much security as a written document. The last words of Israel, of David, and other persons recorded in Scripture, will be called to mind; and our own Anglo-Saxon grants in lines of four or five syllables show the means taken for retaining words exactly in the memory. In the Frithiof's-Saga of Bishop Tegnér, an admirable picture of ancient northern customs and manners, the death-bed scene of a king, and his charge or will to his children and people, with his last words of gnomic wisdom, are given in a very interesting manner.*

* The passage is too long for quotation, but a few stanzas may not be out of place as an illustration of oral tradition under the circumstances mentioned in the text. I translate from the German version of the Saga by Ernst Jansen:—

"Children," quoth King Belé, "on me | Death's shadow falls:
Hear me! Loud for peace and union | the kingdom calls.
Force lives in harmony.— | The ring surrounding
The spear, gives, what besides were weak, | its strength abounding.

'"For watch and ward at port and frontier | set kingly power;
But let peace within th' enclosure | put forth her flower.
The sword should wake for right, | not king's displeasure,
And shields but padlocks be, to guard | our hoarded treasure.

'"Wisdom lacks he who o'erburthens | his Father-land.
Powerless are kings without | the people's hand.
Droops the plant, its branches dwindle, | when the fountains
Of life and sap are wasted on | the barren mountains.

'"Pillars four with strength uphold | the welkin's vault:
Law, one column, singly doth | kings' thrones exalt.
Misfortune hovers near when might alone finds hearing;
Justice is the only robe | befits kings' wearing.

. . . . . .

So passed away from life the first King of Hawaii-Nei. As soon as he had drawn his last breath, a consultation of chiefs was held in the chamber of death, and one of them, in the agony of his grief, proposed that they should eat the corpse, raw. This suggested method of testifying respect and affection was rejected by the majority, and the body was taken into another house for the due performance of rites by the priests and the new king, and for apotheosis. The flesh having been carefully separated from the bones, according to custom, the latter were tied in a bundle of tapa and put safely away—so safely, indeed, that, like some other objects of value nearer home, they have never since been found. At his obsequies a sacrifice was made of three hundred dogs—an important fact to notice, independent of the value of so large a number of useful animals, because a few years previously, on such an occasion, human victims would have been sacrificed instead of this canine holocaust. One or two of the King's most attached friends were only prevented by others from killing themselves, as the procession moved towards the tomb. Beechey says, indeed, that some of his more ardent adherents did kill themselves, and that many knocked out their front teeth, and

'"Build not on thy father's fame,— | 'twas his alone.
If *thou* can'st not bend thy bow | 'tis not thine own.
What would'st thou with glory past? | 'Tis flown for ever.
Its own waves only bear along | the seaward river."

. . . . . .

'Thus the aged gave their counsel | in that old hall.
Such the Scald did after utter | in Hawarnal.*
From age to age in Norseland | Wisdom's words descended,
At the grave-place whispered still | with night-winds blended.'

* A Song of the Edda.

otherwise mutilated themselves on that occasion, according to custom, and that several human victims were offered to his manes by the priests in the Morais. As this is not confirmed by later writers, it is to be hoped that Beechey's information was erroneous as to the sacrifice of human life.

A laboured eulogium on the character of Kamé-haméha is uncalled for. The reader will form his own estimate from the facts of his life as set before him, however slightly. That long reign, lasting a quarter of a century, witnessed the transition of his country from savagery to civilization. And as, when in the articles of death, the feet of the King were sheltered by the roof of one house and his head was covered by another, so was his life itself: its commencement was in the home of barbarism, and before its close the dayspring of a rapidly-advancing civilization was flushing the skies.

'His biographer,' writes Beechey, thirty years ago, 'will do him injustice if he does not rank him, however limited his sphere, and limited his means, among those great men who, like our Alfred, and Peter the Great of Russia, have rescued their countries from barbarism, and who are justly esteemed the benefactors of mankind. His loss as a governor, and as a father to his people, was universally felt by his subjects.' 'Judged by his advantages,' says Jarves, in 1843, 'and compared with the more eminent of his countrymen, he may be justly styled not only great, but good. To this day his memory warms the heart and elevates the national feelings of Hawaiians. They are proud of their old warrior-king; they love his name; his deeds form their historical age; and an enthusiasm everywhere prevails, shared even by foreigners who knew his worth, that constitutes the firmest pillar of the throne of his son.

'Since I have been King,' said Kaméhaméha to Kotzebue, 'no European has had cause to complain of having suffered injustice here. I have made my islands an asylum for all nations, and honestly supplied with provisions every ship that desired them.' The King conversed, says the same traveller, with a vivacity, surprising at his age; asked us various questions, and made observations which his interpreter was not always able to translate; the words which he used being peculiar to the language of Owhyhee, and so witty that his ministers often laughed aloud.

One cannot but feel a deep regret that, to a mind so original and energetic as Kaméhaméha's, the Christian religion had not been presented under more favourable circumstances. The first impressions of it he received from Vancouver seem never to have been quite effaced, but his after-acquaintance with its nominal professors was not likely to give him either a true or an exalted conception of the power or the purity of the faith in Christ. 'The changes which had occurred at Tahiti,' writes Jarves, 'by the final triumph of the Christian religion, aroused his attention, and he made many enquiries in regard to the causes and results. He desired to be instructed in the doctrines, and to learn the nature of the Supreme Being the foreigners worshipped. It was his misfortune not to have come in contact with men who could have rightly influenced his religious aspirations. The whites around him were little calculated to explain the sublime truths, or to tell him of the heavenly tidings of the Gospel.'

'These are our gods, whom I worship,' said Kaméhaméha to Kotzebue, whilst showing him one of the morais or temples. 'Whether I do right or wrong I

do not know; but I follow my faith, which cannot be wicked, as it commands me never to do wrong.

In one of the most beautiful of Dean Alford's sonnets, the poet, walking among the fallen pillars of 'Desert Academe,' sees approach him an Athenian—

> 'A very sad old man,—his eyes were red
> With over-weeping;'—

and the cause of his inconsolable grief was that beautiful Athens, in all her loveliness, was, in respect of the boon of Christianity under which it is our own privilege to dwell, 'only in the prime.' Her existence, in regard to the highest revelation, was premature. May we not appropriate to Kaméhaméha, who died one year before the arrival of the first missionaries from America, the mournful sentence of the visionary Athenian, who

> 'cried and said,
> THE LIGHT HATH RISEN—BUT SHINETH NOT ON ME!'

## CHAPTER XII.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—ACCESSION OF LIHOLIHO—THE ABOLITION OF IDOLATRY.

WE are about to relate in this chapter one of the strangest events that ever happened in the history of a nation; a fact standing by itself—unparalleled. It is that of a people rising up, and at a blow destroying the religious system in which they and their ancestors had lived, sweeping away their idols, 'casting them to the moles and to the bats;' and, what is more strange than all, some of the priests concurring in and assisting at the demolition. This spontaneous movement was no triumph of Christianity,—for Christianity had not yet claimed or even approached the Hawaiian Islands. It was no reformation of a religious system, for it was its total overthrow and abolition. The mountains were being made low,—but as yet no voice was heard crying in the wilderness, 'prepare ye the way of the Lord.' The thin and torn but accustomed garment of paganism was to be thrown violently away; and those who had worn it were to remain for a time, not 'clothed upon,' but left naked and shivering in absolute atheism.

We must recall briefly the efficient causes which led to this event. Liholiho, the son of Kaméhaméha, succeeded to the kingdom on his father's death, being at the time twenty-two years of age. As has been stated, he had

already, in 1809, been invested with royal honours, in order to secure a quiet and uninterrupted succession to the crown. In character he was very unlike his father. His disposition was frank and humane, indolent and pleasure-loving. The very force of one man's character not unfrequently dwarfs that of others who long have dwelt under its shelter. In his father's lifetime there was no call, no room for original energy or action; and there would be no competition of wills where the result of a struggle was certain beforehand. The prince possessed dignified and agreeable manners, an enquiring mind and a retentive memory; but he lived a dissipated existence, and was intemperate in the use of stimulants. As long as his father lived, little or no change was perceptible in the idolatrous system of the nation. Unquestionably there had been a growing scepticism in the people's mind about the gods they bowed to, and a growing knowledge of and impatience under the yoke of oppressive services, tabus, &c., jointly fastened on their necks by the tyranny of kingship, chiefdom, and sacerdotalism, uniting in the common object of their own aggrandizement. A leaven was working in the mass. The sparks of light left by Vancouver were not entirely trodden out. These were directly for good. Intercourse with foreigners was a more mixed influence, and a more indirect path towards better things. Sensual, scornful, and devoted to avarice as was the life of many of the white visitors, it was denied even to these, whatever might be in their heart, to be quite as the heathen were. There was the vital phenomenon of double consciousness; and in the fever of excess they sometimes uttered the words of an early piety, and reproduced long-forgotten fruits of childhood's teaching. The foreigners set bad examples of Christianity: but

the universal 'Nay,' according to Mr. Carlyle, has to precede the universal 'Yea;' and their open disbelief and ridicule of the idolatrous system existing, made the Hawaiians sceptical at least; though, as was natural, fear in many cases mingled with their disbelief. They were now eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and their eyes were open: they saw that all things around them were false, and that they themselves were naked;—but the other plant, of heavenly growth, the tree of life, had not been given to them as yet.

The rumour, too, had come to them, that in Tahiti and in groups farther to the south the idols had been destroyed without ill effects to the people. There Christian missionaries had commenced their work, the rivalry of pagan images would not be tolerated, and they would necessarily, as Christian principles prevailed, be suppressed. Unquestionably there were those among the Hawaiians whose interest it was to continue the system of idolatry; Uzzahs, who stretched out both hands to uphold a tottering ark, and who struggled hard in every way to support it; uttering short-sighted prophecies,—of which the only afflatus was their own wrath and their own wishes.

The material idols themselves existed in immense numbers in the islands. They consisted of two or three kinds; the greater number were grotesque figures carved in wood, frightful caricatures of humanity having a conventional imitation of nature which might have satisfied our most fastidious art-critics of the present day; the features often passing off into ornament, not the least realistic, and the hair descending, like two saws, to the feet. Some of the idols, including the plinth in which they stood or sat, were sixteen feet high. Besides these gigantic figures there were others of

various sizes, in black and other woods, and of stone. One wooden deity had human hair fastened on its head, and shark's teeth in its huge gaping mouth. The workmanship of some was fine. The image of Lono, the Hawaiian Hercules, for whom Cook was mistaken, was a tall, small, round staff of black wood, terminating in a head of the same diameter as the rod, the eyes inlaid with pearl-shell. Some of the idols were of an obscene character. The menacing expression and distorted features of many of them were meant to terrify the enemies of their worshippers, the idols being carried during war in front of the army, with their bearers and the priests making horrid yells and shrieks to give greater effect to their ugliness. Besides these there were feather gods very skilfully formed of the plumage of birds closely imbricated, sometimes wrought upon basket-work. Specimens of the idols can be seen in the British Museum and in the Museum of the London Missionary Society. Many were brought to England in 1824, when Liholiho visited this country; some of them before being exhibited having received a necessary castigation.

A gradual change of sentiment had been going on during the last years of Kaméhaméha's reign, and the materials for combustion were to some extent piled and ready for the torch which was to make them ignite. Whilst the King lived, his strong repressive hand allowed no attack to be ventured on the idolatrous system which he considered it advisable to uphold; indeed, his energy in religion was in accordance with his entire character. He had attended to its ritual; he had built and repaired heiaus (temples), some of great size. Mr. Ellis and his fellow-missionaries counted nineteen of these buildings in one day's walk, the dimensions of one morai or heiau

being 270 feet by 210 feet, with massive stone walls, and a circular mound of earth in the centre for an altar, carefully formed, and having a kerb of stones round it. Now he was gone, and the heavy restrictive hand was removed. The death of a king or a high chief was always signalized by a period of frantic grief and mourning, which was followed by a kind of popular madness,—a wild saturnalia, in which the dissolution of morals was inconceivable. The meal after a Scottish funeral and its whisky-drinking, and the battle-royal at an Irish wake, make us less surprised at the phenomena of grief relieving itself in intoxication and excess. At the death of Kaméhaméha there does not appear to have occurred as great disorder as usual. Opinion was changing—advancing; and the time had arrived when it would make itself heard, though at first timidly and uncertainly. On the very day of the King's death, a woman ate a cocoa-nut *with impunity*, and some families broke tabu by taking their meal together under the same roof. Small indications these, but important, inasmuch as they were the first rending asunder of a system which had oppressed the nation through unknown generations.

Female influence was greatly concerned in the destruction of idolatry, for females were the peculiar objects of its tyranny. It is certain that there were instances of great conjugal affection among the Hawaiians, and that women, especially in war, acted with the noble disinterestedness which belongs so greatly to women's character; but in social position they were little raised above domestic animals. To eat under the roof of the men's apartment, was death. The same punishment followed women's eating several kinds of food. Such treatment made the ladies quite ready for a change of institutions.

The two queens of Kaméhaméha had imbibed liberal tendencies. Unlike each other in every other respect, they coincided in this; and both played an important part in the overthrow of the old religion. In relation to one another and to their common husband, they were as Leah and Rachel. Keopuolani had the higher rank and precedence, and she was the mother of the two successors of the King. Kaahumanu was beloved for her own sake. She was a woman of remarkable character, with strong passions and great failings: but she was a fit mate for the warrior-king, and made no unworthy Caia to his Caius. She seems to have drawn in, during her long and intimate association with him, her husband's own disposition; and when he died she reproduced his character, reflected from her womanhood. It was the moon taking 'up the wondrous tale' after the setting of her lord from whom she derived her light. Kaahumanu had secured to herself, even in Kaméhaméha's life, a great share of authority, to the exclusion of her superior but less powerful rival; and on the King's death it was Kaahumanu who transferred the kingdom to Liholiho, announcing at the same time that by his father's will she was to share the administration of government with him, and in case of his misconduct the supreme power was to devolve upon her alone. Kaméhaméha had had fears on account of the dissolute tendencies of his son, and had planned this wise check upon his follies and this succedaneum for his incapacity. From that time a female has always, until the present reign, occupied the second place in the government; and, under the name of Premier, her authority is essential in all public acts.

Both the dowager queens advised the young King Liholiho, who wavered between his own scepticism and

the persuasions and threats of the interested priests, to break the tabu. That act was to throw away the scabbard and to declare war *à l'outrance* with the established system. His younger brother, Kauikeaouli, invited by his mother, took this step by eating with her. Liholiho had not opposed the intention; and when he saw that no bad effects followed from *ai noa*, or 'common eating,' he said, 'It is well to renounce tabus, and for husbands and wives to dwell together,' adding, 'There will be less unfaithfulness and fraud.' Kaahumanu also urged the King, in his indecision, to disregard the restraint of tabus.

Liholiho, richly dressed, and wearing the regal feather-mantle, surrounded by a brilliant retinue, was crowned; and received, at his accession, the name of Kaméhaméha II. His mother again urged him to violate the tabu; and to persuade him more forcibly, set the example herself. When it is remembered that death had been the penalty for such an act, it will be seen that courage was required in taking this open step. But Liholiho was a waverer. He could not break his chains at once; he joined in religious festivals where revelry and licence mingled with the sacred rites, and he even consecrated a temple to his special god.

Another female who was instrumental in the overthrow of idolatry, was Kapiolani, wife of Naihe, the public orator of the kingdom. This is the chiefess who, some time afterwards, when she was a Christian, won herself a name by descending into the crater of Kilauea, daring the vengeance of Pelé, the divinity of the volcano, in her own domain, in order to convince the wavering spectators of the falseness of their superstition and the safety of those who have the Lord for their God. This action deserves to rank high in the

records of female heroism. We know practically that when we have escaped from the blackness of spiritual terrors, we often walk still in the shadow of a mysterious fear. Our reason is convinced, but our natural sensibilities still vibrate. Sir Samuel Romilly has recorded that to the end of life he never quite got over the effects made on him by ghost stories told him in his childhood; and that he often started with a momentary apprehension when sitting alone at night in his chamber.

But the most remarkable and unlikely accessory to the movement was the High Priest Hewahewa. He, instead of striving, as did many of his brethren, to arrest the course of events, heartily urged it onward, and became a chief iconoclast, a strange instance of liberality of mind; for he was not only breaking up the system which had been interwoven with his whole life, but in its destruction he was casting away his own influence, and even the means of existence. He subsequently related the steps by which he and the King came to an understanding between themselves upon the subject that was working in both their minds. The danger in which a disclosure would place each of them, the uncertainty of the other's feelings, made it difficult to arrive at the intelligence desired. It was obtained at last during a happy conversation, in which coy questions were parried by answers coy, yet not denied; and at last their sentiments were fully made known to each other. Those who have loved long and mutually in timid silence, and at length have tentatively, in a similar conversation, felt along the delicate clue to each other's heart, will be able to appreciate all the difficulty and all the delight of such an investigation and such a revelation.

In August of the same year, the French corvette 'L'Uranie,' commanded by Captain Freycinet, arrived and remained at Honolulu for a few days. Whilst there, Kalaimoku the prime minister (he to whom the English residents gave the name of Pitt), and his brother Boki, Governor of Oahu, received the rite of baptism according to the usage of the Roman Catholic Church, and apparently at the hands of the chaplain on board. The two chiefs do not seem to have been aware of the meaning of the ceremony, but probably considered it a piece of French etiquette; nor does the circumstance appear to have had any great effect on the events which shortly followed. The two chiefs interchanged presents with Captain Freycinet and then returned to their idolatrous practices as before. Mention of the circumstance is not, however, to be omitted.

Kaahumanu's opposition to the priests was in her, meanwhile, becoming more determined; and in November she sent a message to the King, that on his arrival at Kailua she should cast aside his god. Liholiho did not oppose his imperious coadjutor; but to avoid bad consequences to himself for this impiety, he kept off the shore, and remained afloat two days with his suite, indulging in a drunken revel. At last Kaahumanu sent and fetched him on shore; his remaining fears vanished, and he and the female Premier consulted as to the measures necessary for destroying the tabus and idolatry. The King's first step was to drink and smoke with the female chiefs. This, though hitherto wrong and still dangerous, would not be unpleasant to a man of his disposition. In what ensued, Mr. Jarves's account will be followed verbatim.

A feast was prepared, after the customs of the country, with separate tables for the sexes. A number of foreigners were entertained at the King's. When all were in their seats, he deliberately arose, walked to the place reserved for the women, and seated himself among them. To complete the horror of the adherents of paganism, he indulged his appetite in freely partaking of the viands prepared for them, directing the women to do likewise: but he ate with a restraint which showed that he had but half divested himself of the idea of sacrilege and of habitual repugnance. This act, however, was sufficient. The highest had set an example which all rejoiced to follow. The joyful shout arose, 'The taboo is broken! the taboo is broken!' Feasts were provided for all, at which both sexes indiscriminately indulged. Orders were issued to demolish the heiaus and destroy the idols. Temples, images, sacred property, and the relics of ages were consumed in the flames. The high priest, Hewahewa, having resigned his office, was the first to apply the torch. Without this co-operation the attempt to destroy the old system would have been ineffectual. Numbers of his profession, joining in the enthusiasm, followed his example. Kaumualii having given his sanction, idolatry was for ever abolished by law; and the smoke of heathen sanctuaries arose from Hawaii to Kauai. All the islands uniting in a jubilee at their deliverance, presented the singular spectacle of a nation without a religion.

Certainly the event recorded is one on which a philosopher may ponder, or an orator open his lips in eloquence. It is one on which the Christian will look with reverent interest, waiting to see the end; recalling in the meantime such prophetic words as these, 'And the idols he shall utterly abolish.' A native Hawaiian has lately mentioned the fact that he himself saw forty thousand idols destroyed. They were hurled from their places, where they had been worshipped upon every high hill and under every green tree; they were

contemptuously tossed aside to perish, or, more contemptuously, left forgotten, as they stood decaying in grinning imbecility. Remains of these 'despised, broken idols' are still occasionally to be found in the islands, but they are regarded as curiosities, interesting only as belonging to a former state of things.

Then, to fancy's ear, came moaning along the rocky shores, murmuring in the passionate mountain torrents, and sighing in the winds, the melancholy wail, 'Great Pan is dead!' Through the old primeval forests clothing the flanks of the volcanoes, echoing from dread precipices, and heard on the winds that rushed down smiling valleys, came the same despairing strain, 'Great Pan is dead!' The Ocean, as he ran his waves hoarsely on the rude shore and into resounding caverns, took up the universal cry. 'Blush, O Zion, saith the sea,' was formerly the exhortation, when vile rites polluted and human sacrifices terrified the Syrian shore: but now, as the coming tide sent in her white breakers and boomed over the coral ledges of Hawaii, the triumphant song which mingled with the roar of waters had the one burthen,—'Great Pan is dead!'

It would have been contrary to all experience that such a revolution should be accomplished without disturbance and opposition. Vested interests scream and writhe when the destroying foot is set on them. A fierce, tyrannical sacerdotalism would not consent without a struggle to be turned adrift with the prospect before it of its members having to starve, or, still worse, of having to obtain a livelihood by the honest labour of their hands. Accordingly, a party was quickly formed to oppose the movement, and for its head was selected Kekuokalani, a priest only inferior in rank to Hewahewa, and who was also nephew to the late King.

Religion was made the bait to allure him in revolting against the established government; but in addition to the disinterested honour of being Defender of the Faith, he was to have the crown of the kingdom, if success attended his standard. The rebels were soon encountered by the government or freedom party, and in a slight engagement, the former gained a success. On this intelligence reaching the King, a council was held; and Kalaimoku (William Pitt), his trusty adviser, urged an immediate attack with all the royal forces on the insurgents at head-quarters. First, however, Hoapili, guardian to the King's sister, and Naihe the orator, were sent to the rebel camp on an embassage of conciliation. They were accompanied by the queen-mother, Keopuolani, to whom Hoapili had stood, even in her royal consort's lifetime, in the position of what may be called her acting husband. The rebel chief was their nephew. The negotiation, however well intended, was ineffectual, and the ambassadors were glad to retreat from the enemy's camp with their lives. The rebels immediately marched from their position to Kailua, where the King lay, hoping to surprise and take the position. Kailua is situated in a small bay on the western side of Hawaii, a few miles north of the scene of Cook's death. The King's troops were prepared to meet the enemy, and advanced to meet them. At Kuamoo they formed a line on the shore, having the sea at their back, and on the enemy appearing, drove them before them up a rising ground till the rebels gained a shelter from a stone fence, and for a time made a stand; but they were at length driven from their position by a party of Kalaimoku's warriors. The insurgents were now in flight; but, rallied by their misguided chief, himself wounded and weak from loss of

blood, they made a final stand. Kekuaokalani, with the courage that belonged to his race, fought desperately; but he fainted and fell during the engagement. He revived, however; and sitting on a fragment of lava, for he was too weak to stand, twice loaded his musket and fired on the advancing party. He was then struck by a ball in the left breast, and covering his face with his feather-cloak, he expired, amidst friends who surrounded him. Again we are called upon to admire a woman's devotion. His wife, Manona, had fought by his side the whole day with dauntless courage; but as soon as she saw him lying dead, the motive which animated her withered up, and she called for quarter to Kalaimoku and his sister, who were advancing. As the words were leaving her lips, a ball struck her temple; and the faithful wife fell on the lifeless body of her husband, and instantly expired.

The engagement, which commenced in the forenoon, was continued till sunset, the idolaters fighting on, though dispirited by the loss of their leader. By evening, the King's troops were left masters of the field, their enemies having by that time surrendered or fled.

Thus ended the last battle which the narrator of Hawaiian history has to record. War is a great evil; but experience has shown it to be not an unmixed evil. It evokes fierce passions, but it calls forth at the same time dormant virtues, which are apt, in the piping time of peace, to be forgotten, like an undrawn sword rusting in its scabbard. Endurance, self-sacrifice, loyalty, discipline, hold no mean rank in the conclave of moral qualities. The courageous Hawaiian women generally followed the men to battle, to tend their wants, and especially to assist them when wounded. The more courageous of them, or the more affectionate, would

advance to the front of the battle, side by side with their husband, bearing a calabash of water in one hand, and poising a dart or holding a stone with the other. If their warrior was killed, they seldom thought it worth while, themselves, to survive.

Mr. Ellis visited the site of the battle of Kuamoo. He found the place thickly studded with small piles of stones, marking the graves of those who died in the conflict. A tumulus larger than the rest, indicated the spot where the chief and his heroic wife died together. A few yards nearer the sea, a tomb ten feet long and six wide, formed of piled stones, covered the grave where Kekuaokalani and Manona were interred. Many lovely flowering bushes grew around it, and a beautiful convolvulus in fullest bloom covered the tomb with its foliage and blossoms.

## CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORICAL SKETCH — ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES — THE VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN TO ENGLAND, AND THEIR DEATH.

SOME young Hawaiians had been taken to the United States, and there educated. The blessings of Christianity, which they valued in their effects on themselves, they desired to impart to their fellow-countrymen, by returning to the islands. This desire, and an interest relating to the Sandwich Islands, which had sprung up in the minds of the religious community in America, determined the sending of some missionaries to Hawaii. No intelligence had at that time been received of the events which have just been narrated. When the missionaries went forth, therefore, it was with the belief that the idolatrous system which had hitherto prevailed would be opposed to them.

The courageous pioneers of Christianity despatched from Boston by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, were accompanied by several native youths, among whom was George Kaumaulii, son of the former King of Kauai, and who, having acquired the English tongue, were able to render the important assistance of acting as interpreters. On the 4th of February, 1820, according to Ellis,* they arrived in

* By Jarves's account, the day was the 20th of March.

Hawaii; and by a striking coincidence, if we may not say by a directing providence, landed at Kairua, the very scene of the last battle of idolatry. Instead of those difficulties which they had every right to suppose awaited them, they found the laws of tabu abolished; the priesthood, as a body, dissolved; the nation set free from its degrading superstitious system; and, religionless, lying ready, like a fallow ground, to receive the seed of a new husbandry. The difficulties which awaited the missionaries were of another kind.

They were visited on board their vessel, the 'Thaddeus,' by Kaliamoku and the two dowager queens, by whom they had previously been kindly received. Hewahewa, too, the ex high-priest, welcomed them cordially, calling them his 'brother priests.' We must respect this man, who, without law, was a law unto himself, and acted faithfully to the extent of the light he possessed. He could not, of course, intuitively precognise the system of Christianity; but he was able, before that system was revealed to him, to discover by reason the falsity of his national idolatry, and, with a noble self-sacrifice, assist in the overthrow of the religion which upheld him in a position only a little inferior to the King's. He had publicly renounced heathenism, and had apprehended Monotheism, proclaiming his belief in the One Supreme Being. 'I knew,' he said, 'that the wooden images of our deities, carved by our own hands, were incapable of supplying our wants; but I worshipped them, because it was the custom of our fathers. My thoughts have always been, that there is one only great God, dwelling in the heavens.' *

* The conduct of the High Priest, Hewahewa, on this occasion recalls to mind a parallel in the history of our own land, when at the preaching of Paulinus, Edwin of Northumbria was converted to Christianity.

Some practical difficulties and prejudices had to be overcome before the missionaries were allowed to land permanently; and now was the occasion of that question which, as we have mentioned, had been asked previously, —whether they were the white teachers whom Vancouver promised to send to them. For a fortnight, the Congregationalist ministers had to remain on board the vessel; and then, after a council of chiefs had been held, they were permitted to settle on the islands for one year, with the understanding that on misconduct they would be sent away. They were not to send for an increase to their number, for fear that they might become a burthen to the community. Among the Bostonians who landed in Hawaii, were a physician, a farmer, a printer, and a mechanic; and the three missionary ministers, as well as their lay associates, brought with them their wives and families.

Wordsworth, in a note to his fine sonnet on this occurrence, thus translates from Bede :—

'"Who," exclaimed the King, when the council was ended, "shall first desecrate the altars and the temples?" "I," answered the Chief Priest; "for who more fit than myself through the wisdom which the true God hath given me, to destroy for the good example of others, what in foolishness I worshipped?" Immediately, casting away vain superstition, he besought the King to grant him what the laws did not allow to a priest,—arms and a courser; which mounting, and furnished with a sword and lance, he proceeded to destroy the Idols. The crowd, seeing this, thought him mad:—he, however, halted not, but approaching, he profaned the temple, casting against it the lance which he held in his hand, and exulting in acknowledgment of the worship of the true God, he ordered his companions to pull down the temple, with all its enclosures. The place is shown where those idols formerly stood, not far from York, at the source of the river Derwent, and is at this day called Gormund Gaham.'

The remarkable difference between the two events is that the Hawaiian Pontifex was not impelled by the motive of a knowledge of the true God, in his work of destruction.

The propagandists of Christianity commenced their work at once, and it proceeded rapidly. In Kauai, which was still under the authority of a separate king, though dependent on the general government, two of the missionaries were placed, and they took with them the young Christian, George, son of the King, who was delighted to receive him and his white protectors. George's arrival was hailed by a salute of twenty-one guns, and the King continued till his death a steady friend to the missionaries. In Hawaii the two ex-queens and the minister Kalaimoku were the chief patrons of the new religion; nor was Kaméhaméha II. unfriendly to them; but his personal habits and his personal associates were not such as would make him a consistent follower of the Great Example of purity, temperance, and self-denial.

The facile natives had few prejudices to oppose to the new religion. Mentally, they were in a condition to accept as readily that or any other faith which should be proposed, as their bodies were to receive any new epidemic. The chiefs eagerly espoused the cause, and begged that the important subsidiary benefits which were connected with the religious teaching might be given to their people. They requested more artisans, whom they offered to support liberally. The King himself was very sensible of the importance of gaining knowledge. He applied himself so diligently, that by July he could read intelligibly, and several of the chiefs made rapid progress in learning. It was characteristic of their previous ideas, that at first these would not allow the common people to learn to read, as they considered that knowledge, like the other good things of life, was the exclusive right of the governing class. Money, too, was given, both by natives and foreigners,

for the purposes of the mission. Six hundred dollars were subscribed at Oahu for a school for orphan children, and in November, four schools had been established, containing one hundred pupils. At first the greater number of learners in the schools were adults.

The quick, observing eyes of the natives found much and sometimes amusing food for their curiosity. The dress of the females, in which the ill taste of that time was added to the primness and unworldliness of attire befitting missionaries' wives, occasioned much astonishment to the *décolletés* Hawaiians. Their poke bonnets were described by the people as 'hats with spouts;' and they must indeed have presented an unbecoming contrast to the simple but elegantly-formed wreath of *ilima* flowers on the brows of the young beauties of the Pacific. The male missionaries excited watchful attention and even alarm; for when, according to their custom, they prayed standing, and with their eyes closed, the natives supposed them to be sorcerers, and that they were praying them to death, and fled from such dangerous strangers.

No system like that of the *disciplina arcani* troubled the missionaries. They seem at once to have announced the deepest metaphysical mysteries that are the objects of our faith, to a race whose language was peculiarly deficient in words expressing abstract ideas; who had not even a name for gratitude; and whose poor, earth-bound faculties could only see things in a very direct aspect. When, therefore, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was enlarged upon by the American ministers, we do not wonder that sad confusion was induced in respect to the Hypostasis, and that no nearer approach to the truth could be reached by the people than that the whites worshipped three separate gods, to

whom were given the names of three of their own discarded deities.

To the honour of the missionaries be it said, that their little Augustinian band bravely laboured on; encountered with patience intellectual and other obstacles; and made themselves masters of a difficult and very vocalic language to which, from that peculiarity, it was very hard to give phonetic expression. There was also directed against the Americans the opposition of many careless and depraved foreigners, who were incensed by any efforts to curtail the freedom with which they followed their cupidity and their libertinism. The King had made considerable advance in his studies, and was acquiring a knowledge of geography and of the customs, productions, and governments of other countries; but, originally infirm of purpose, he forsook his pursuits and often relapsed into periods of debauchery, to which he was often led by his foreign associates. It will not be out of place to introduce here a short and approving summary of the missionaries' labours which appears in the report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for the year 1860; which year was the fiftieth of the existence of the Board. The summary is from the hand of R. H. Dana, whose name is well known in this country by his published writings; and who, being a member of the Episcopal Church in America and a barrister, is likely to give an unprejudiced as well as an intelligent *résumé* of his own impressions and information derived from a visit to the Sandwich Islands, from which place he writes.

It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board, that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and to write, to cipher and to sew. They

have given them an alphabet, grammar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion, science, and entertainment, &c. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now the proportion of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England. And whereas they found these islanders a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannized over by feudal chiefs, and abandoned to sensuality; they now see them decently clothed, recognizing the law of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people do at home, and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they ve, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies.

In a separate chapter, the successes and the failures of the American missionaries in christianizing the islands will be dwelt upon: and we need not now extract more of Mr. Dana's remarks, or the conclusion at which he arrived on the subject of a national religion.

The King, whom we will continue to call Liholiho to distinguish him from his predecessor, notwithstanding the serious defects of his character and the frequent excesses in which he indulged, retained that noble courage which distinguished his race. In Europe such courage would be called chivalrous, or rash. Here, Quixotic acts are sometimes the result of the code of honour, or are performed under the knowledge that a multitude of eyes are fixed upon the actor: in less sophisticated peoples, they are impulsive. In 1821, Liholiho, being angry or jealous of the titular King of Kauai, father of

the youth George who returned with the missionaries to his country, determined to pay Kaumualii a personal visit. The latter had addressed his suzerain as King of the Windward Islands; an implication which made Liholiho angry and uneasy. Kauai was one hundred miles distant from Oahu, where the King was residing. He had never made the passage; the channel is rough; and when he sailed thither in an open craft the boatmen had neither chart nor compass, nor even water for the voyage. The King insisted, however, on their steering for the island, he himself indicating the direction. Twice the boat, in which he had crowded thirty attendants, including two women, had nearly capsized. On his people entreating him to put back to Ewa, his answer was an order to bale out the water and proceed; adding that if, against his authority, they made the boat return to Oahu, he would leap into the water and swim to Kauai. With much exertion and great peril, the island was at last reached, but a night of danger had yet to be passed through. The day-break saw them cast anchor off the shore, exhausted with fatigue and hunger. What followed redounds little to the honour of Liholiho, however much his adventurous voyage speaks for his courage.

Directly Kaumualii, the King of Kauai, heard of the arrival of his suzerain, either ignorant of the spirit in which he came, or rather, it would appear, from a high-minded courtesy, he hurried on board the boat in which his guest arrived, and welcomed him to his dominions. Had he considered the Hawaiian an enemy, he might easily have secured him and put him to death: instead of this, he prepared a house for Liholiho's use, and sent away two vessels to Oahu to bring two of his wives, with their retinues. In the same forbearing

spirit, Kaumualii, instead of demanding from the King, so completely placed in his power, a renunciation of all authority, and a declaration of the independence of Kauai, fulfilled his agreement made with Kaméhaméha; and offered a formal surrender of his kingdom to a guest who might have been considered his prisoner. Faithful to the conditions of that compact, he addressed Liholiho, though with much emotion, acknowledging the superiority of the first Kaméhaméha, and on that king's death, the rightful succession of Liholiho. He placed at his guest's disposal his ships, his forts, his ammunition, his island, as being his; inviting him to name a governor for Kauai, and to send himself (Kaumualii) where he chose.

The chief's magnanimity was met by deceitful conduct. Liholiho disclaimed in courteous language any wish to assume the island, or to alter its guardianship in any way. His reply commanded shouts of approbation on both sides. Kaumualii continued to treat his guest kindly and hospitably; but the guest was only waiting his opportunity. The chiefs he was expecting having arrived in a fine vessel the King possessed, he invited his host on board; and whilst Kaumualii was being entertained below, sail was made on the vessel, and he found himself, in an instant, a state prisoner. Keeaumoku was made governor of his island, and the Kauaian king was brought to Honolulu, where, though he was allowed to retain his suite, all authority was taken from him. He was even separated from his favourite wife, and compelled to marry the imperious Kaahumanu.

In 1822 the first printing-press was set up and used. The energetic chief Keeaumoku was present on the

occasion, and assisted in working off the first impressions. This year, also, the missionaries occupied themselves in forming a Hawaiian alphabet. The King, Kaahumanu and many of the chiefs, became diligent scholars; and, their example being followed by many others, the schools increased and flourished. In a short time Liholiho was able to write legibly. In the spring of the same year Mr. Ellis, a missionary then engaged in Tahiti, paid a visit to the islands. His zeal is only equalled by his intelligence; and the interesting accounts he has published of his researches, his tour through Hawaii, and his visit to Madagascar promote not only the cause of Christianity, but that also of civilization, and scientific investigation.

The vessel which Vancouver had promised that his sovereign would present to Kaméhaméha I. was sent by George IV. to Liholiho. It was a schooner carrying six guns, and named the 'Prince Regent.' In acknowledging this gift, which was done by a letter conveyed by Captain Kent on his return to England, Liholiho announced to the King the death of his father and the conquest of all the islands; and he begged to place them all under the protection of His Majesty. His letter conveys the intelligence of the abolition in the islands of 'the former idolatrous system,' and contains the following words:—'We wish the Protestant religion of your Majesty's dominions to be practised here.'

Whilst we rejoice at seeing barbarism displaced by growing enlightenment, we cannot but feel some interest in those outward manifestations of an ancient error which, now passing for ever away, become invested almost with sentiment. Pomps and ceremonies no longer oppressive in their display, pass into the museum

of what is curious and antique. For this reason the annual festival commemorating the death of his father, held by Liholiho in 1823, deserves mention. It was the last national exhibition of ancient Hawaiian customs. Just before it was held, a large accession of missionaries had arrived from America, and many organic changes were at hand. This feast was the last glowing light of the barbaric sunset. The missionaries and all respectable foreigners were invited, and were present at it. Two hundred persons sat down to dinner in a bower which had the dimensions of a banqueting-hall. The dress of the whole party was *de rigueur*. Black had been adopted as the Court colour. In the midst of dinner, a procession entered the *salon* which must have been striking from its numbers, its object, and the contrast it formed with the guests. Four hundred natives, clad in white, marching in single file, deposited their taxes at the feet of the King. The festival, which lasted several days, was concluded by another procession; this latter being in honour of the five queens of Liholiho. Solid phalanxes of men bore aloft platforms covered with cloth and beautifully-coloured tapa, on which were supported boats: the outer rank of bearers wearing feather cloaks of scarlet and yellow, and superb helmets of the same material. In the first boat was seated Kamamalu. She was habited in a mantle of scarlet silk, and wore on her head a coronet of feathers. An immense coloured and gilded umbrella, carried by a chief, sheltered the queen from the sun. Kalaimoku, the prime minister, and Naihe, the public orator, clad in the *malo*, or girdle of the old régime, of scarlet silk, and lofty helmets, stood on either side of the queen. Each bore in his hand a *kahili*, or staff of royalty, thirty feet high, the upper part being a cylinder

of scarlet feathers eighteen inches in diameter. Afterwards came the prince and princess, the queens-dowager, &c., the chiefs carrying hereditary symbols of rank. It was a many-coloured procession, brilliant with gay plumes and wreaths of beautiful flowers whose gem-like setting was their dark-green foliage. Songs and acclamations, many hundred dancers and singers, drums and other native musical instruments, gave animation to a scene which the spectators would not forget, because sufficiently remarkable in itself, and which would also be remembered because it was the last.

In the autumn, the queen-mother, Keopuolani, died. Her conduct having indicated a change of character, she was baptized before her death, and spent her last hours in giving directions about the religious welfare of her relatives and people. She was buried with the rites of Christian sepulture. Minute guns were fired, as the corpse, borne by the five wives of the King and by a high-chieftainess, was carried to its last resting-place. The stones of an old heiau, or temple, desecrated now from its former idolatrous use, were to be consecrated by the interment of a Christian neophyte, round whose grave they were to form a wall. To do honour to the departed queen, the stones were carried to their destination by chiefs, male and female: Kaahumanu, who in size 'towered above her sex,' bore a large stone, whilst the inferior people walked beside their laborious superiors, carrying nothing but the feather kahilis.

The King, Liholiho, had entertained a growing desire to visit England. In October a council was held at Lahaina, and he embarked in an English vessel, 'L'Aigle,' together with his favourite wife Kamamalu, who, at the age of twenty-six, was still beautiful, Boki, a chief, brother to the prime minister Kalaimoku, with

his wife Liliha; Kapihi, the King's naval commander; Kekuanaoa his treasurer, a steward, and some servants. The King's younger brother, Kauikeouli, was appointed successor to the throne and heir to his private lands, in case he should never return. The 'Aigle,' with the royal party on board, left Honolulu on the 27th of November, amid sad forebodings of the people. Kamamalu, weeping among her weeping attendants, was the last to leave the shore. Perhaps a prescience of her doom oppressed her. Before stepping into the boat which was to convey her to the vessel, she turned to her affectionate people, whose love she had won by her amiability and domestic qualities, and uttered one of those touching laments or farewells which it had been the custom of her ancestors to make at parting. Simple and few were its words, but it was the genuine expression of a sad and loving heart.

After touching at Rio Janeiro, where the Brazilian Emperor treated the royal party with flattering attention, and presented the King with a very handsome sword, Liholiho and his *cortége* landed at Portsmouth on the 22nd of May, 1824. The English Government, on learning their arrival, appointed the Hon. F. Byng as a sort of guardian to these children of the far ocean, and to provide for their comforts. On reaching London they occupied apartments at Osborne's Hotel in the Adelphi. There was at first an easy *abandon* in their dress. The Queen and Liliha, in loose, carnival sort of trowsers, and improvised robes of original fashion, must have struck visitors as being, though handsome specimens of womanhood, yet 'not of the world,'—the world in which London and Paris move. However, tailors and milliners took the royal group speedily in hand. Liholiho adopted the Windsor uniform; and a profile

medallion of him was executed at that time, and presents a singular likeness to his royal brother George IV.

Their time was occupied in sight-seeing and receiving visits. The nobility showed them many attentions; their likenesses were found in the picture shops. They dined, they travelled, they saw sights, in fact they lived in a whirl of engagements and excitements, which a delicate London girl might bear, but which was destructive to the robust denizens of the Pacific. Before an opportunity took place for an introduction of the King and Queen to George IV., one of Liholiho's household was attacked by measles. Next day the King sickened, and by the end of a week the whole party were suffering from the same malady. The Queen became seriously ill. She was attended by Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Ley, Dr. Holland, and Mr. Peregrine; but in spite of every care, the original disease degenerated into inflammation of the lungs. The Chief Boki and two more of the suite recovered rapidly. The King, too, made some progress; and on the 4th of July was able to give audience to the newly-appointed English consul to his kingdom. On the 8th of July the interesting Queen Kamamalu was seen to be sinking. Her parting with Liholiho was very touching. All that her sorrowful soul had prophesied when she bade farewell to her native shore, had come to pass. She was dying,—far from her land and her beloved country. The royal pair held one another in a long, last embrace, their tears flowing unrestrained. In the evening the Queen died. The King is described as standing by the lifeless body, and apparently receiving some comfort from the new religion of which he had been but a partial scholar. Lifting upward his eyes, he exclaimed, 'She has gone to heaven.'* The body of the Queen

* The *Times*, 12th July, 1824.

lay in state; and was then placed in a coffin on which the following words were inscribed:—

TAMEHAMALU,

QUEEN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS,

DEPARTED THIS LIFE IN LONDON,

ON THE 8TH JULY, 1824,

AGED 22 YEARS.

At the same time, and within the distance of half a mile, there was also lying in state a noble of England; one who had achieved greatness beside the greatness he inherited. In the coffin of George Gordon, Lord Byron, the hand which had written lines of fire was lying motionless and lifeless at his side; and thousands of his countrymen went to view the hearse of him who had so long stirred their souls with his song. Death had been precipitate with his two victims;—a queen of two-and-twenty;—a poet of thirty-seven. Lord Byron's body lay at Sir Edward Knatchbull's house, in Great George Street. The circumstance is mentioned here, from the coincidence by which the successor to his title, Captain, afterwards Admiral, Lord Byron, was commissioned to carry back the remains of the King and Queen of Hawaii to their native soil in the 'Blonde' frigate.

Owing to the death of Kamamalu the King became so depressed, that the partial recovery he had made was lost, and he too sank. After much severe suffering he breathed his last on the 14th. The event is thus described by the Court newsman of the day. 'It is our painful task to record, this day, the dissolution of the King of the Sandwich Islands; which took place yesterday morning, at 4 o'clock precisely, at the Clarendon Hotel, Robert Street, Adelphi.' *

* The *Times*, 15th July, 1824.

The same paper shortly afterwards gives an account of the lying in state of the deceased King: how the room was hung with feather tippets, and the regal war-cloak of spotless yellow plumes was displayed; and from large china vases, draped with white linen, rose many wax lights;—a semi-barbaric but impressive scene, with the dark-skinned friends and attendants of dead royalty, in silent grief, filling the chamber.

Every attention and care had been paid to the sufferers. 'The King sent his own physicians, and the Duke of York his surgeon, and everything that England produced was at our command.'*

The following is the inscription on the coffin:—

KAMEHAMEHA II.

KING OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS,

DIED JULY 14, 1824,

IN THE 28TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

MAY WE REMEMBER OUR BELOVED

KING IOLANI.†

The 'Blonde' sailed from Portsmouth on the 28th of September, carrying the remains of the King and Queen, and those of the retinue who survived. Before the latter left England, the King granted them an interview at Windsor. He received the little suite with his accustomed courtesy, and showed them more than accustomed kindness; promising protection to their islands, in case any other power was disposed to encroach upon their sovereignty. Mr. Canning frequently conversed with them. All expenses whilst the Hawaiians were in England were defrayed by the Government.

On the voyage home, at Valparaiso, another of their

* Rives's Letter to the Prime Minister.

† A name by which he liked to be called by his intimate friends.

number died, Kapihi, the commander of the King's ships. Kekuanaoa the treasurer, and Liliha, Boki's wife, were baptized by the chaplain of the ship, Lord Byron standing sponsor. On the 4th of May, 1825, the 'Blonde' reached Lahaina. It is not our intention to enter into a description of the poignant grief with which, here and at Honolulu, a highly demonstrative nation greeted the funeral vessel. At Lahaina, the wail of the multitude, as they lifted up their voices and wept, echoed over the hills, and drowned the roar of the surf. Wild sorrow had always been displayed at the death of their kings and chiefs, although in so many cases they were hard oppressors. The Scythians wept at the birth of a child: it seems more unaccountable that the Hawaiians should have grieved so greatly at the death of those who often lorded it over them with tyrannical insolence,—but it was so.

The funeral obsequies took place at Honolulu. No longer were the remains of the royal pair to be concealed, or carried to some open heiau, where grinning hideous idols kept watch upon the massy walls; but amidst 'pious orgies, pious airs,' and attended with 'decent sorrow, decent prayers,' those earthly relics were borne in a Christian procession, received in a chapel hung with black, and consigned to their long silence with religious services. The coffins were drawn on two cars surmounted by rich canopies of black, each of which was moved by forty of the inferior chiefs. The young King and his sister were followed by Lord Byron and the English Consul. Lines of soldiers extended half a mile, from the fort to the chapel, and the officers, band, and marines of the 'Blonde,' walked in files, as did the foreign residents. A hundred seamen of the frigate, in uniform, closed the procession. Of all the

mourners, none felt more poignantly, than the veteran chief Kalaimoku, the prime minister. He had loved Kaméhaméha the warrior, and he had transferred his love to his king's offspring.* Now he saw them carried, young, to the grave:—hence those tears, which flowed freely down the old man's cheeks in spite of all his efforts to control them.

* Kamamalu was the daughter of Kaméhaméha, though not the uterine sister of Liholiho.

## CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE BROOK BECOMES A STREAM—AN APOSTOLIC PREFECT ARRIVES—THE ARGONAUTS.

DURING the expedition to England, several changes had occurred in the islands. Old things were passing away. At Kailua, the memorable scene of the last battle between idolatry and the iconoclasts, a place of Christian worship had been erected, in which the average attendance each Sunday was eight hundred persons. Kapiolani had become a Christian, dismissed all her husbands except Naihe, and had thoroughly adopted the habits of civilized life. This is the female chief who descended the crater of Kilauea. She died in 1841. The ex-King of Kauai died in 1824, also a convert, and a sincere one, to the new faith. He bequeathed his possessions to Liholiho. Keeaumoku, Kaméhaméha's old warrior, and Governor of Kauai, was also dead a short time previous to the decease of the sovereign of that island. His powerful grasp of the government having ceased, the Kauaians, on learning the death of their late king, threw off restraint, and renewed many heathen practices. It cannot be a matter of surprise that the echoes of heathenism would still return at first, although the body of paganism was removed. They would be fainter, and only heard under favouring circumstances; but in the present case they

had also a political association. The people connected the former system with their former independence; and in the anarchy which reigned for a time in the island, an armed attempt was made to throw off subjection to the central government, to expel the new governor, and to promote George Kaumualii, the late King's son, to the crown. The insurrection was, however, quelled by the usual vigour of the prime minister, Kalaimoku, after some vigorous fighting and the execution of some chiefs. A grand council was held to settle the island finally, and it was formally annexed to the kingdom of Liholiho.

The most conspicuous effect of Christianity was the change which took place in the Regent Kaahumanu. In the days of her heathenism she had been the haughtiest, the most imperious and the most cruel of her sex. When angry, her glance carried terror to her trembling vassals. No subject, however high his station, dared face her frown. Though friendly to the missionaries, her personal deportment towards them was lofty and disdainful. She possessed unusual energy, decision, and ability; which qualities, united with the experience and judgment of Kalaimoku, had often extricated the nation from the difficulties in which it was involved. After she had sat as a disciple at the feet of Christ, her strong character underwent an entire change. Her naturally warm affections burst through the cold, contemptuous habit with which she had overlaid them. She walked with meekness and consistency in her new course; was attached to those who had been the means of this renovation, and kind to all her people. 'The new and good Kaahumanu' was the name by which she was frequently spoken of. If we sometimes think that here and elsewhere the introduction of Christianity has resulted in

small and imperfect effects, it is important to observe in such instances as this its overcoming and transforming power. Her example led to the adoption of the Christian profession by many others, for people took note 'that she had been with Jesus.' She died in 1832.

Although the name of Kapiolani, the wife of Naihe, has been already mentioned more than once, and her daring exploit at the crater of Kilauea alluded to, that courageous act must be again instanced, as indicating the reality and power of the faith which she had adopted. In the vast and wild region occupied on the island of Hawaii by the great mountain Mauna Loa, its summit indented with a gigantic crater, its sides rent with other openings, through which at times the liquid fire flows, the priests of Pele, the dreadful deity of the volcano, lived in an almost inaccessible seclusion. It is in mountain solitudes, amidst crags and precipices, subject to the more awful phenomena of nature that patriotism and superstitions, conquered and driven from the plain below, find refuge, and preserve through centuries a persecuted but obstinate longevity. After Christianity had taken possession of the more general and fertile portions of the Hawaiian Islands, the old worship clung about that lofty and desolate mountain, the base of which covers 120 square miles;—it even clings there still, to some extent, nursed by groanings and utterances from the tormented mountain, rocked by the fierce wild winds and storms, sheltered by clouds and mists, lighted by sudden spectral fires, and terrified by quakings and rendings of the soil. Few dwellers from below came to disturb the rites practised by the uncanny worshippers of Pele, for their bodies could not bear the cold and wet of the climate, and their souls were daunted by the real and imaginary horrors of the

spot. It was at the great active crater of Kilauea, on the side of this mountain, against the threats and vaticinations of the assembled priests, and against traditions which till that time formed a part of her own nature, that Kapiolani, trusting in the power which has made all things,—exhibited the courage of a Christian woman, invaded the fiery sanctum of the goddess, ate the sacred berries, and cast some of them daringly into the heaving lava; and having there praised God aloud, amidst the most stupendous instances of His power, she reascended to reprove the idolatry of the amazed worshippers of Pele, and to urge them to forsake it.

There afterwards grew up in the mountain region a strange mixture of Christianity and the old heathenism, in which, like the Taiping in China, a Trinity was conceived and adopted, Hapu, a former prophetess, being united with Jehovah and Christ. This heresy did not last very long. A single missionary coming among the adherents of it, who were worshipping night and day in the temple, was the means of their abandoning the hastily-constructed faith and burning their temple.

Kauikeaouli, Liholiho's younger brother, succeeded to the crown, receiving the dynastic name of Kaméhaméha III. He had been born in 1814, and consequently was only eleven years old at the time of his accession. Before Lord Byron left the islands, a grand council was held to confirm the succession to the young prince. Besides Lord Byron, the English Consul and Mr. Bingham the missionary were present at the meeting, with the high chiefs of the kingdom. Kaahumanu was continued as regent during the King's minority, and Kalaimoku as the prime minister. At the council another important act was passed, by which the landed possessions held

by the chiefs became strictly hereditary and inalienable. By this organic law the feudal rights of the sovereign in bestowing lands were greatly curtailed, and the inferior people were left with very little land of their own, for the chiefs were found possessed of most of the available property.

The history of the islands now becomes principally concerned in internal matters, very interesting to those who took part in them and to those who study what may be called the biography of a nation, but they have not sufficient breadth to detain a slight historical sketch like the present. The chief point of interest which marks the following years, was the struggle against licentious vice, which was carried on by the missionaries, and by the government and individual chiefs who had come under the religious influence of the missionaries. The various ships which touched at the islands had previously found little obstacle to the association of their crews with the native women. Native females used to visit the ships; and captains going voyages would not unfrequently carry off with them a young Hawaiian as a *compagne de voyage*. But now it was found both by ships of war and by merchantmen that a great check had been placed on such licence; and in the anger which the new system elicited, attacks were sometimes made upon the missionaries and others who interfered with the immoral traffic. Such an event took place in 1826, on the occasion of the U.S. schooner 'Dolphin' visiting Honolulu. Its crew made an attack and riot in the town, demanding to have the law passed by the chiefs abolished. Some dangerous wounds were received in the *mêlée*, and the captain taking the part of his ship's company, succeeded by importunity and threats in restoring the visits of the women to the

vessel during her stay there. Similar acts of violence, fruits of the same passions, were enacted by the crews of English and other vessels.

It was about the same time that the American missionaries became associated with the native government. It has been a frequent matter of accusation against them that they, being, as they consider, sons of Levi, took too much upon themselves; that they interfered in and finally assumed too much of the governmental functions, forsaking for this purpose, as Dr. Judd and some others did afterwards, their ministerial capacity as religious teachers. Yet it is difficult to see how such a position could be altogether avoided. The native government was the head and the heart of that body politic which the missionaries desired to recover from sickness to health. With the countenance of the King and chiefs they could do much for the nation. They could do most by informing that head, and regulating the action of that heart. So they became in a strict sense *amici curiæ*; standing at first in the background, but prompting, teaching, guiding, and efforming the government to some model, that model having its materials drawn from the Scriptures of the Old Testament. It is to be observed that, though they were citizens of the United States, it never was the object of the missionaries to bring about a republic in the islands. They had discretion to see that the genius of the people was utterly unfit for such a so-called self-government. They saw that kingship was a necessity, and the extent of their endeavours and their achievement was to reduce the absolutism which they found, to the limitations of a constitutional monarchy, looking to Europe for the necessary types. In their zeal they were likely enough to introduce too much of the theocratic element, and they took the

decalogue announced by Moses as the basis of the laws of Hawaii. None can doubt that some motives common to humanity mingled with these disinterested aspirations. Missionaries, after all, are men. The desire of power, the charm of influence, the sacred thirst for gold, are co-extensive with our race, and the most sacred offices do not always exclude their whisperings.

Parties in the islands soon polarized themselves. In proportion as the chiefs, influenced by their teachers, began to set their face against open profligacy and hidden vice, and to enact laws in favour of morality, with punishments and penalties annexed to them, the curb was felt to gall those whose reasons for residing in the islands were the gratification of their unchecked passions and the unscrupulous acquirement of money. Many foreigners and a few of the inferior chiefs formed a party bitterly opposed to the converted government, and still more bitterly opposed to the religionists who were bringing about the change. The latter were accused of having assumed the entire power; which however never was the case, nor could be while the daring will of Kaahumanu and the activity of Kalaimoku remained. Besides, there were some intelligent and well-principled lay visitors to the islands, whose counsels to the government were all for order, propriety, and progress.

Unfortunately, the consul appointed by the English government placed himself on the side of the opposition. As a secular agent, he might properly feel some jealousy at the encroaching influences gained by the American party; but his antagonism does not appear to have been judicious or temperate, and he held out to the Protestant missionaries the threat of introducing Roman Catholic priests on the islands for their opponents. Mr.

Charlton's conduct was the more unfortunate, inasmuch as his American adversaries were to be the historians of the period, and because the world looks now with a soberer eye upon the moral delinquencies of public men than it did thirty years ago,—does not allow, in fact, for personal peccadilloes, unless in very great men indeed, where the troublesome little black spots are lost sight of in the dazzling brilliancy of the luminary.

The missionaries denied the allegations, pleaded martyrdom, and invited examination of their proceedings. Captain Jones, in the U.S. ship 'Peacock,' arriving at Honolulu at the end of 1826, was made the umpire in such an investigation. He found the missionaries entirely in the right, Mr. Charlton and his lovites entirely in the wrong. If exuberance of expression can give additional force to rectitude, the American teachers must have been very right indeed. 'This great trial,' writes Captain Jones in his report, 'issued in the *most perfect, full, complete, and triumphant victory* for the missionaries that could have been asked by their most devoted friends. Not one *jot* or *tittle*, not one *iota*, derogatory to their character,' &c.

In March 1827 died Kalaimoku (William Pitt), 'the iron cable of Hawaii,' as the people called him. He was expiring of dropsy when Beechey visited the island, and saw him extended on his back in his tent. On his death the chief Boki, who had visited England and was Governor of Oahu, was appointed guardian to the young King—an unfortunate transition, for Boki's character was weak, though not without its good points. At this time the first attempts were made to codify the scattered edicts which had been issued by the King and by chiefs. The first written laws framed under the new *régime* were founded on the Mosaic decalogue. 'The

opposition' prevented the whole body going into operation. Those intended as restraints on the sale of spirituous liquors and on certain immoral facilities were pretermitted; and enactments against murder, theft, and adultery were alone put into execution at that period.

When Liholiho and his suite sailed on their expedition to Great Britain, a Frenchman of very indifferent character, named Rives, had attached himself to the party by concealing himself in the vessel till she was out at sea. The King, with his easy temper, allowed the volunteer *attaché* to continue with him in London in the character of his interpreter. He was, however, after a time dismissed, and he then went to France, and occupied himself in schemes, the base of which was the Hawaiian Islands. He projected an agricultural concern for which he required artisans; he also demanded priests for the christianization of the kingdom. The result was that Pope Leo XII. appointed Mr. J. C. Bachelot Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands, and he sailed thence in the ship 'Comet,' accompanied by two priests and four mechanics. Rives, who had done thus much in the cause of religion, would not venture himself in the vessel with such a body of divinity, but proceeded in another, landed on the west coast of South America, and there disappears from history finally. The 'Comet' arrived at Honolulu in July 1827, and its captain succeeded in landing the bishop, one priest,—the other having been lost overboard during the voyage,—and the mechanics, without the permit necessary by Hawaiian law. Their landing was entirely opposed by the government. Kaahumanu ordered the captain to take his living freight away again; whilst Boki, with a moderation which does honour to his enlightenment,

entered into an explanation with the priests, showing them the serious disadvantage to a small and unprepared community of having within itself the exhibition of different doctrines. He pointed out that such a diversity might exist with impunity amongst large and enlightened nations, whilst it was unfit and dangerous for the Hawaiians, mere neophytes of the Christian faith. He stated the universal wish of the chiefs that the French should not remain on the islands.

However, there they were; and possession is nine points in ecclesiastical as well as other law. No persecution was used, and the authorities at last gave the settlers permission to remain till an opportunity could be found for their returning to Europe. Bachelot and his coadjutor, Short, were gentle and pious men. They combined the harmlessness of the dove with the wisdom of the serpent. Perhaps the serpent character a little prevailed; for it is clear from their letters, that when opportunities for their removal did occur, there occurred always at the same time difficulties which prevented their taking advantage of them. However, they were servants of a Church that requires obedience in her ministers. Their mission was to fix that Church in the islands; and only two courses were open to the priests —martyrdom abroad, or disgrace at home.

They could not complain of intolerance, either on the part of the natives or the American missionaries. In January 1828 they opened a small chapel; and, in order that the priests might prosecute their necessary studies, the American mission lent them their own works in the Hawaiian language. This was very liberal: but there is a great charm in having one's book read, even by our adversaries.

Many natives were led to witness the ministrations

in the Roman chapel; and great confusion of mind was the consequence on the subject of image-worship. The native mind was not then in a state to take the distinctions between *dulia* and *latria*, between essence and symbols. Kaahumanu, with her usual *aplomb*, cut the matter short with her own subjects. She punished many of them who had become converts to the Church of Rome, referring in justification to the edict against idolatry promulgated at the eventful period of 1819. A polemic war ensued; but our little wayside brook of history, now swelling to the proportions of a stream, is rushing on too eagerly to busy itself with transactions which can be imagined as easily as they could be read. So we leave the sermons and discussions, the articles and pamphlets, and run along the brink, trying to keep pace with our busy rivulet.

Boki, the clever but unstable Governor of Oahu, with his wife Liliha, relapsed sadly from the Christian faith; and their example was followed by many others, who, remembering the flesh-pots of Egypt and loathing the light food of the new system, made somewhat like a wilderness by too great restrictions, fell back gladly into many of the licences of their former life. Even the young King, of whom Boki was guardian, fell into dissipation. A revolution was talked about, and some steps were taken in it; but by energy, and judicious conduct in the ruling powers, it was crushed in the bud.

In 1829 the young King, then sixteen years of age, first began to take an active part in public affairs. He issued a proclamation to the effect that the laws would be enforced against natives and foreigners irrespectively.

At the end of this year an Argonautic expedition was

planned and executed, which ended most disastrously. Boki had been extravagant, and had encumbered himself with debts. A large amount of dollars was found in some manner to be owing to the Americans, and which it was arranged by the captain of a U.S. man-of-war, who played the part of a national conscience, should be paid in sandal-wood. The crew of a vessel which arrived at Honolulu informed Boki that they had fallen in with an island in the South Pacific, which abounded with this valuable wood. Boki resolved to sail thither, though the direction was extremely vague, and, with force and arms if necessary, take possession of the island and its wood. Another account is, that Boki had resolved on conquering the New Hebrides, a group of islands three thousand miles distant from Hawaii.*

The 'Kaméhaméha,' a beautiful man-of-war brig, was fitted out, with the 'Becket,' a smaller vessel. Both ships were well furnished with arms, ammunition, and stores for colonizing. Five hundred people, including seamen, soldiers, and the foreigners, embarked in the two vessels. One hundred and seventy-nine crowded on board the 'Becket,' the burthen of which was one hundred tons! They sailed on the 2nd of September, a day of grief and tears to the inhabitants of Oahu, who stood weeping as they saw the ill-starred adventurers leave its shores. Boki, with all his faults, seems to have had something honest and noble in his nature; and as he took leave, he turned and addressed the people thus:—'Attend, my friends! Hear what I have to say. You know my sin is great:—it smells from Hawaii to Kauai:—it is enormous; and it is my own, and not another's. I am about to take a voyage to

* The Sandwich Islands, Alexander Simpson. London, 1843.

extinguish the debt of the King, and not for unworthy purposes.'

The poor man who found that his 'offence is rank,—it smells to heaven,' and daringly resolved to steer into unknown seas in order to pay off his debt, was, in spite of his rashness, more honest than if he had gone through the Bankruptcy Court on his own petition.

The expedition arrived at the New Hebrides and landed on the island of Rotuma, where, like the Spanish adventurers in America, they treated the inhabitants with harshness, and made them cut sandal-wood. Boki then sailed in the 'Kaméhaméhà' for Erromanga, an island only a few days distant from Rotuma. The 'Becket' had orders to follow him in ten days. Fate threw her black pall over the bold chief and his companions. Nothing was ever afterwards heard of the 'Kaméhaméha' or any of those on board. As they had a quantity of gunpowder with them, and were accustomed to smoke in the most careless manner, it has been thought probable that the ship was destroyed by an explosion. The companion ship, the 'Becket,' reached Erromanga, where the Hawaiians committed many outrages on the natives. Lives were lost in fighting, and an epidemic broke out amongst the adventurers, in which the leader, Manui, died, and many others. After a stay of five weeks at the island, to no purpose, the solitary little vessel set sail for Oahu. Her original company had been swelled by the addition of forty-seven natives of Rotuma; so making two hundred and twenty-six persons on board a vessel of one hundred tons. Nothing that the 'Ancient Mariner' could relate whilst he enchained listeners 'with his glittering eye' approached the horrors which were enacted on this eventful voyage.

Crowded with the sick, the dying, and the dead, the vessel became a floating charnel-house. The sufferings of the living were aggravated by famine. They lay under a burning sun, enduring agonies of thirst, and were destitute of medicines or medical skill. Feebler and fainter, day by day, arose the groans of the suffering passengers, and the wails of the almost equally helpless crew. The slow progress of the brig was tracked by corpses. The conduct of the foreigners, who seem to have been wrapped in the selfishness of despair, was barbarous, and its remembrance inflames the resentment of relations to this day. The dying, as well as the dead, were reported to have been cast overboard: and out of the two hundred and twenty-six souls that composed the brig's living freight, but twenty returned,—and of these eight were foreigners. Twenty natives had been left at Rotuma on their way, some of whom afterwards found their way back. On the 3rd of August, 1830, the 'Becket' arrived at Honolulu; and as the news of the disaster spread, the voice of weeping and wailing was heard by night and by day. The loss of so many active, intelligent men was a severe blow to the nation.*

* Jarves, Hist. Hawaiian Islands.

## CHAPTER XV.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE STREAM BECOMES A RIVER—REIGN OF KAMÉHAMÉHA III.

THE Roman mission had gained a footing upon the islands, and was determined not to be dislodged. There were now three parties at work, and amongst them the natives fared ill. There was the government, which, inspired by the American independent missionaries, carried religious restrictions to a Puritanical extreme, enforcing them by punishments, so that innocent amusements ceased. Kaahumanu was much influenced by Mr. Bingham, the principal member of the mission, a sincere and disinterested man, possessing talent and energy, but injudicious in not considering the earthen vessels into which he was zealously pouring heavenly treasure. No punishment was considered by him and the associated government too great for the most venial offence. Riding on Sunday, even for foreigners, was forbidden; the healthy exercise of swimming, in which the people ever delighted, was actually abandoned; and police constables entered private houses, and, like the intruders so touchingly described by Mr. Lillyvick, without any 'with your leave' or 'by your leave,' walked away with the fermented liquids that might be on table.

Then there was the party of reaction. To this the

young King inclined, who unfortunately evinced dissipated habits at an early age. It included most of the foreign trading residents, the 'foreigners,' as they were called *par excellence*, and a good many of the natives, who were discontented with the rigid rule under which they found themselves, and sought licence under the name of liberty. The traders or 'foreigners' as a community, though immoral, were not in every respect bad. They are described as 'an easy-going, free-living race; associating together on terms of peculiar amity, and indulging in frolics of the most extravagant description. There was little rivalry among them.'* They seem almost to have made a joint stock of their profits, and were so careless or so trusting, that money and goods passed about amongst them without a written acknowledgment ever being thought of, and they scarcely ever entered into a settlement of accounts. When they wanted land for houses, the chiefs friendly to them used to give it, and it was sometimes received without any deed or written title. A bitter feud existed between them and the missionary party. They accused the latter of being the originators of the unwise restrictions of the government, and of holding back the inhabitants from advancement, in order to increase their own influence.

They viewed every action of the missionaries, however innocent or well meant, with suspicion; they called them,—and by frequently calling them so came to believe them to be,—hypocrites even in religion; they supported a school for teaching native and half-caste children English, mainly because the system was opposed to the views of the missionaries; and they maintained a newspaper for several years, the chief aim of which was to attack their religious adversaries, and throw doubt and discredit on all their efforts.†

* A. Simpson, Progress of Events, &c. † Ibid.

Finally, there was the Propagandist party. The priests had been treated with consideration. They had not been forcibly ejected from a land that never invited their presence; and though Kaahumanu issued an order forbidding natives to attend their religious services, the Romanists were allowed to continue their labours among foreigners. In spite of this ordinance, numbers of native proselytes received instruction from the Roman Catholics and met in their chapel; and it was in the government's efforts to prevent and restrain its people, using force to compel the natives' absence from rites and schools, that 'The Persecution' consisted.

In thirty years, our own views on the subject of religious liberty have changed materially. We no longer allow governments to persecute opinions; we only permit that valued privilege to the religious or political parties themselves; and they certainly act the tyrant with considerable zest. Whilst, therefore, we regret that the Hawaiian government in 1830 should have unwisely used harsh and repressive measures, we can scarcely blame them,—certainly cannot feel surprise: but we do see from our present point of view, that to impose penalties and imprisonment on the Romanist converts, and to treat thirty of them as malefactors, was exceedingly unwise.

It may be easily conceived that a strong feud would exist amongst the three parties in whose ranks all the population was distributed. The American missionaries had been early in the field, and had laboured, if not always judiciously, with great activity. In ten years from the commencement of their mission nine hundred schools had been established in the islands, taught by native teachers, and containing 44,895 pupils. It is a remarkable fact that in the Sandwich Islands education

has been more diffused, has embraced a larger proportion of the population, than it has ever done in Great Britain, in Prussia, or in New England. The missionaries and a missionary government would naturally look with jealousy and anger upon their Roman Catholic rivals. Kaahumanu had appointed her brother Kuakini Governor of Oahu. He was a shrewd, stern man: understanding the English language very well. With great energy he suppressed an insurrection which was developing itself on the island which had been placed under his charge, and he next proceeded, in 1831, to send away the priests from the country, to which they had clung with a parasitic tenacity since their first unauthorized settlement. Three notices at sufficient intervals were given to the French priests, as they were called, though one of them was an Irishman; but the priests kept on never minding; or, rather, they moulded the affair of extradition into such a form as to look like a religious persecution of themselves. Government decided on sending them from the country at its own expense: and as, opportunely, an invitation had been given to the priests by the Prefect of the Missions in California to join him there, where their presence was much needed, they were shipped on board a brig, and early in 1832 were landed safely at San Pedro, and received a welcome reception from the Roman Mission there. The artisans were not compelled to leave the islands.

Motives, like the shield with gold and silver sides, look very different from opposite points of view. Seen from the government side, the Romanists were a set of intruders, trespassing upon its patience as they did upon its territory; disregarding a civil notice to quit, and requiring an ejectment under the old auspices of John

Doe and Richard Roe: and even then, like the ghost of the Amundevilles, refusing to be driven away. From the station occupied by 'the faithful,' the two priests were a picket of the army of martyrs, holding true to their sacramental oath, and seeking by all means to plant in Hawaii the banner of the Cross. The result of their representations to the French government will be seen hereafter.

This year, 1832, the year of the passing the Reform Bill in England, died Kaahumanu, aged fifty-eight,—beloved and lamented. She had come late into the Christian vineyard, but when called within its enclosure she seems to have laboured, according to her light, with sincerity and activity. On her death her power and place were transferred to Kinau, an elder half-sister of the King's. She, like her powerful predecessor, was much under the influence of Mr. Bingham. The following year the young King assumed the active duties of government. Unfortunately he was ill-prepared for such responsibilities. His original temperament was luxurious; and the persons he had adopted, or who had adopted themselves, as his friends, had rather assisted than restrained the power of his youthful passions, and the temptations which surrounded a person of his age and station. Things began to go very badly. The King relapsed into a state of open immorality, and on his own authority revoked all the penalties on crimes affixed by law, except those on murder, theft, and adultery. He issued a proclamation declaring that all authority resided in himself, and that he possessed the arbitrary power of life and death. It is disheartening to read of the state of society which soon followed this unhappy change. The people, galled with too severe a curb on their habits and inclinations, broke loose in

debauchery and every sort of vice. Moral anarchy prevailed not only in Honolulu, but throughout the group. Schools were deserted, the teachers themselves falling away; buildings for worship were burned, and some lives were lost in the violence and confusion which prevailed. The dark habits of heathenism sprang up again, like the heads of Medusa, and, in one district at least of Hawaii, idolatrous worship was once more performed. If we may give all credence to accounts which come to us through the missionary party, the islands must for a time have been a pandemonium. During the height of this misrule, Kinau, the premier, with all her determination and strictness of principle, had no controlling power; nay, was obliged to keep within the walls of the fort, with a few faithful attendants, to escape the insult and violence to her person which would have been offered had she ventured forth. Happily, the reign of terror and profligacy was not a long one. Such rein had been given to lust, rage, and drunkenness, that the subjects of passion sank down exhausted, sated, sick, and wearied, and a state of prostration followed the terrible excitement they had undergone. So great is the power of public example, when the exemplar is in high place! So true Charles Caleb Colton's epigrammatic expression of the fact:—

> 'The paltry watch in private pocket borne
> Misleads but him alone by whom 'tis worn.
> But the town clock, which domes and towers display,
> By going wrong leads half the world astray.'

Happily, the King had the opportunity during a long subsequent reign, extending to the year 1854, to atone for that wild *Walpurgisnacht* of which he had been the mad leader. One who knew Kaméhaméha III.

long and intimately, even till his death, gives me such a report of him as the following:—

If the first of the name was the one and proper man for his epoch, the third Kaméhaméha was equally fitted for the time on which he fell. He had private moral faults and irregularities over which, as they affected but little his public conduct, we may well throw the veil of silence; and then we have a king who, if any ever deserved the name of the father of his people, was worthy of that honoured title. To him king-craft came intuitively. Penetrating, patient, conciliatory, he knew how to measure and to gain men. Many times, placed in circumstances of extreme danger and perplexity, he steered the barque of the state out of them with all the caution and devotion of a pilot. It is no hyperbole to say of him that he was ready to sacrifice himself to the public weal, because he actually did so, both on public and great emergencies, and in a long course of watching and self-restraint. He denuded himself of privileges and prerogatives that he might clothe his people with them. He freely gave up to that people his time, his care, his income, and his territory.

The first turning-point with the young King, indicating a coming restoration, was the circumstance of his confirming Kinau the premier, his half-sister, in her office. The party in favour of disorder, and which it is disagreeable to add included Mr. Charlton the English consul, were desirous of having the princess displaced. She had remonstrated earnestly with her brother, and was incessant in her affectionate endeavours to reclaim him from the disastrous course he had adopted. Her influence triumphed; and the effect upon the community when the confirmation of Kinau's power was known is described as being electrical. The crisis was over; but Kaméhaméha oscillated, like all bodies acted on by opposite forces: the storm was past,

but the heavy sea had not yet found the hydrostatic level. Sometimes he broke out into open habits of licentiousness; at other times he was found respectful and attentive in the house of prayer. The triumph of wholesome counsels was marked in 1834, by the King sanctioning the former laws, and placing restrictions on the sale of spirits; so that while the licences produced a revenue to the government, the evils arising from excessive use of liquors were kept greatly in check.

This year Captain Seymour, in H.B.M.'s frigate 'Challenger,' arrived at the islands. His was a visit of retribution. A year or more previously, an English schooner was seized by part of her crew, who murdered her master and scuttled the vessel at an uninhabited island near the equator. The mutineers subsequently found their way to Honolulu in a whaler. Of course the Hawaiian government had no right to inflict capital punishment on English subjects for crimes reported to have been committed on the high seas; but it seems to have been indiscreet, after hearing the acknowledgment of their guilt, to have harboured them and treated them as it would have done honest men. Captain Seymour demanded their execution, and the pirates were hanged.

Advance was now again made in the morality and religion of the people. The worst features of the old heathenism were disappearing. Much had been done by the missionaries and their organization to raise the standard of morals and to impart the Christian faith to natives, who only fifteen years before had existed in the heavy bondage of idolatry. That the advance was often forced, often more in appearance than real, must not be doubted. Outward conformity is more easy to secure than inward regeneration. Simulation was a

characteristic of the Hawaiian nation. Yet the missionaries felt their triumph, and could cry with some reality, as they pointed to the people decently clothed, gathering in chapels, thronging to schools, applying themselves to laborious trades, using Christian prayers and singing Christian hymns,—'What hath God wrought!'

The rumour of what was effected reached the religious world in America and Great Britain, and created a great sensation. Letters from zealous men detailing the power and triumphs of the Cross are usually sanguine. Circumstances told with the best faith seem, on reading them, almost like miracles, whether in reports to a Central Board of Missions, or in *Lettres Edifiantes* to the Jesuit College. The transactions are far away, nobody contradicts them; it coincides with our own hopes and our own desires that success should attend the ministry of those whom we sent forth with a hearty 'God Speed.'

In the year 1836 the American missionaries became more intimately and more openly connected with the Hawaiian government. It has been a reproach used towards them that some of the number who went forth to those heathen islands to save souls by their teaching and preaching, remained there to put away their missionary character and assume the part of amateur statesmen, much occupied thereafter in secular matters, and not altogether foregoing such secular honours as their connection with that small state could bestow. The missionaries have considered it necessary to reply to this reproach, and to justify the course they took. The substance of their apology is, that a necessity lay upon them to act as they did; that an opportunity presented itself of gently guiding the ruling powers of Hawaii to construct a government upon enlightened

principles, of which the Christian religion should be the directing star, and which should be free from foreign influence; that this was the wish of the chiefs, who in their darkness and incompetency to build on a model they had never seen, endeavoured to procure the needful assistance where it was to be found; that to this end they sent one of the missionary establishment, Mr. Richards, to the United States with an invitation to some public man to come to the aid of the Hawaiian kingdom; one who could assist and advise in founding a new constitution and in making new laws; that Mr. Richards failed in the endeavour, and could not persuade any 'right man' that by going to the centre of the Pacific he should be in the 'right place,' as far as his own prospects in life were concerned: and that in consequence of this failure there was no other alternative than that the missionaries should detach some from their own ranks to be associated with the chiefs in guiding, henceforward, the vessel of the state. They say that the chiefs were at the time in an embarrassed position with regard to foreign and internal affairs, greatly needing immediate counsel; and that they made the choice of those among their religious instructors whom they considered most fit to walk the stage in their new part, and to teach the science of political economy.

And because public bodies, religious or commercial, can never act except upon 'Resolutions,' the mission drew up, in 1838, a series of eight resolutions explanatory of their conduct, and adumbrating a scheme of government, or rather of the political ethics which were to be the basis of government. That the resolutions were entered on the Minutes some time after the principles were in operation, is not perhaps of importance

to notice, and is in accordance with the proceedings of many other public bodies.

The missionaries had probably felt more fear than the King and chiefs on the subject of foreign interference. Their own standing in the islands, and their plans in favour of the people whom they had taken into their protection, would be greatly damaged if the influences of such nations as England or France became too pronounced. Indeed their fears had been heightened to a painful degree in the very year of Mr. Richards' mission to America.

An outrage, which seems to have been quite wanton, had been committed on the property of a person named Chapman, an English subject. His house had been pulled down by order of the authorities, and his property plundered by those employed to commit this act of violence. The sole cause of the proceeding appears to have been a determination to show to white men that they resided on the islands only by sufferance.* In the course of 1836 Lord Edward Russell arrived in the 'Acteon,' on a visit of observation. Whilst there, Chapman's wrong was made known to his lordship, and he obtained reparation from the government for the injury. Lord Edward maintained very friendly intercourse with the King, and before leaving the islands he drew up a paper of Articles, which were duly signed, conceived in an amicable spirit, and which, whilst they were intended to protect English subjects against the recurrence of such wrongs as Chapman had received, involved nothing derogatory to the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, and contained expressions of friendship and good-will. The Articles were three in number. The first permitted English subjects to come to the

* Simpson, Progress of Events.

Sandwich Islands with vessels and property; to reside there; and, with consent of the King, to build houses and warehouses. Such visitors and residents to conform to the laws of the land. This article concludes with a paragraph that 'good friendship shall continue between the subjects of both countries, Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands.'

The second gave liberty to English subjects to leave the islands at their pleasure, and to dispose of their houses, effects, &c., giving previous notice to the King, and to take away the proceeds without impediment. It declares that the land on which the foreigners' houses are built remains the property of the King, and stipulates that he shall have no power to destroy the houses or in any way injure the property of English subjects.

The third article relates to the effects of British subjects dying in the islands; giving immediate power over them to the heirs and executors, or failing these, to the consul or his agent. It also provides for the collection of debts due in the islands to a deceased English subject.

The stipulations contained in these three articles appear reasonable, and their demands most moderate; but they awoke the fears and jealousy of the missionarized government, and the King was induced to make a vehement protest against them. The protest was contained in a letter addressed to King William IV., and was signed by Kaméhaméha III. and Kinau, who assumed the official name of Kaahumanu II. It states that signature to the articles had been obtained by the urgency of the commander of a ship of war and the English consul, who threatened that the vessel would open fire upon the town in case of refusal. It concludes by stating that the King, under these circumstances,

had given his assent to the stipulations, but not his real approbation.

Another trouble was impending over the vexed Archipelago, arising in a different quarter. A retribution was preparing for the expulsion of the Roman Catholic priests by the government. Religion had received a wrong, and France felt that wrong keenly, and resolved to punish it severely. In order to forward the reign of peace, France sometimes finds it necessary to break through the laws of nations, and to employ heavy artillery.

In September another priest, named Walsh, arrived in the islands. As soon as his profession became known he was required to leave; but he eventually received permission to remain until the arrival of the 'Acteon,' which was daily expected. Shortly afterwards it was notified to him again that he would not be allowed to reside permanently. Previous to the arrival of Lord Edward Russell, the French sloop-of-war 'Bonite' touched at the islands; Walsh immediately appealed to her commander, Captain Vaillant, and as the English consul united in the request that the priest might be allowed to remain, on the ground that Walsh was an English subject and that his profession did not deprive him of his natural rights, permission was granted, with the proviso that he was not to attempt to propagate his religion.

In the meantime, Bachelot and Short had received in California a papal brief, exhorting them to persevere in their attempt to establish themselves at Oahu. They were also in correspondence with Mr. Charlton the English consul, and they were led to believe that the way was sufficiently prepared for their returning safely to the Hawaiian Islands. Walsh had violated his pro-

mise of not propagating the Romish religion; but he was forbidden to open the chapel, and was again requested to leave. The names of the priests necessarily appear in a prominent position, as if they were the chief offenders. We must, however, be tender in our judgment of persons who were earnest in their endeavours to carry forth what they believed to be the true Christian doctrine; who were good and self-denying men; but who were so bound by vows of obedience to what they considered an authority over-riding all other authorities, that the violation of engagements and even of truth is almost more chargeable to the system which bound them than upon their own consciences. We cannot for a moment praise or defend conduct wherein truth is sacrificed to expediency, or even, if it were not blasphemous to say it, to religion; but the priests of the Roman Church look upon their allegiance as inviolable, and as excusing some acts which the clergy of other churches would disdain and detest. They are in the position of privates in an army. When the latter take away the lives of men standing opposite to their ranks, men against whom they have no personal quarrel and whom they have never seen before, they look upon themselves as instruments only, scarcely more accountable for the bloodshed than their rifles are. The responsibility of life remains with the superior authority; their own judgment seems taken away, and the voice of conscience to be suspended. All other violence, robbery, and wrong, follow in the same category. It is war,—and they are soldiers sworn to the articles of war;—they have no choice. We state, but cannot defend the position. At the great day, this scheme of human ethics may hang in filthy rags upon its subjects, and every man must be judged according to his deeds. In the

meantime it may explain, even while it does not excuse, many wrong actions in thoughtful and pious men, who place themselves under a headship which allows no questioning.

In April 1837 the two priests ventured to return from California. They were conveyed in a vessel hoisting English colours, owned by a Frenchman named Jules Dudoit, who claimed to be an English subject. The questions of naturalization and domicil are too full of intricacies to permit a decision as to which nation Dudoit actually owed allegiance. The priests were landed surreptitiously, without notice to the authorities. On their arrival becoming known to Kekuanaoa, the Governor of Oahu, he wrote them a distinct demand that they should withdraw from the islands, and reminded them of their own statement that they only intended to stay on the islands until they could obtain a vessel to carry them thence. A despatch was then sent to the King, who was absent at the time at Maui. His Majesty issued a proclamation a few days afterwards, of which the following is a copy:—

PROCLAMATION.

Ye strangers from all foreign lands who are in my dominions, both residents and those recently arrived, I make known my word to you all, that you may understand my orders.

The *Men of France** whom Kaahumanu banished are under the same unaltered order up to this period. The rejection of these men is perpetual, confirmed by me at the present time. I will not assent to their remaining in my dominions.

These are my orders to them, that they go back immediately on board the vessel on which they have come; that they stay on board her till that vessel on board which they came sails, that is to me clearly right, but their abiding here I do not wish.

* Meaning the priests.

I have no desire that the service of the missionaries who follow the Pope should be performed in my kingdom, not at all.

Wherefore, all who shall be encouraging the Papal missionaries I shall regard as enemies to me, to my counsellors, to my chiefs, to my people, and to my kingdom.

KAMEHAMEHA III.

Unquestionably the hand of Mr. Bingham and his coadjutors may be traced in the above production, which, though couched in almost child-like language, is peremptory enough, and so clear that they should have run who read it, for that was its intention. The priests, however, absolutely refused to return on board the 'Clementine,' and that vessel was made ready for another voyage; but the government was absolute, and determined to put them on board. Officers were sent to execute this intention. Bachelot enquired whether violence would be used towards them, and the English consul, who it may be said here, seems to have had the faculty of acting in the most injudicious manner conceivable upon every occasion, took part against the officers, threatened them that the 'Clementine' was under *tabu*, and that any one approaching her would be shot; and finally, by inducing them to touch the priests as they were embarking, made out a case of constructive violence, which was protested against in solemn form before himself. M. Dudoit would not have been a Frenchman in heart if he had let the occasion pass without a little melodramatic action; so he hauled down his flag,—they were English colours,—and carried it on shore to Mr. Charlton the consul, who publicly burnt it to protect it from dishonour! Never before had been seen the parts of Virginius and Virginia performed by an English consul and a Union Jack.

To complete the transaction, Dudoit protested that the Hawaiian government had seized his vessel, and he claimed damages therefore.

From the coloured statements of this affair, which were sent to Europe and to America, it was believed that a dreadful persecution of Roman Catholic Christians was raging in the Sandwich Islands. On the 7th of July the 'Sulphur' surveying-sloop, commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir Edward, Belcher, arrived at Honolulu; and three days later appeared there Captain, afterwards Admiral, Du Petit Thouars, in the French frigate 'La Vénus.' The two commanders demanded the instant liberation of the priests, who remained on board the 'Clementine.' As this was not complied with, a body of marines were sent to the vessel and escorted the priests to shore, where the two commanders reinstated them in their former residence. The King was sent for, and on his arrival an audience took place, when, after eight hours' discussion, it was agreed that the priests should remain in the islands until an opportunity for their leaving presented itself. Captain Thouars on behalf of M. Bachelot, and Captain Belcher on the part of Mr. Short, wrote a formal undertaking that the priests should take their departure on the first favourable occasion, and, until that occurred, should desist from preaching.

Before the ships of war left the islands two other documents were signed. The first, dated July 23rd, 1837, was a consent by the King to a certain interpretation of the first of the articles agreed upon with Lord Edward Russell. It related to the permission granted to English subjects to come to and settle in the islands, and it reads rather as an enlargement or variation of the article. 'In the event of finding it necessary to

exert the power of refusal to admit a subject of Great Britain, we will grant a fair trial, and give satisfactory reasons for our act, of which due notice shall be given to the Consul of His Majesty the King of Great Britain.'

The other document contains the germ of the French treaty. Its brevity is admirable; but the doctrine of development as in our own times caused the small seed to assume the proportions of a tree with many branches.

It runs thus:—

Honolulu, Sandwich Isles, July 24, 1837.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles.

The French shall go and come freely in all the states which compose the government of the Sandwich Isles.

They shall be received and protected there, and shall enjoy the same advantages which the subjects of the most favoured nations enjoy.

Subjects of the King of the Sandwich Isles shall equally come into France, and shall be received and protected there as the most favoured foreigners.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
A. DU PETIT THOUARS,
Capt. Commander of the French frigate 'La Vénus.'

Ere he sailed, Captain Thouars appointed M. Dudoit to act provisionally as consul for France. The Hawaiian government made strong objections to receiving his nominee in this capacity; but the French commander was peremptory, and Venus had shown herself to be Mars in disguise; and so the appointment was settled.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE FIRST FRENCH TRIBULATION.

THERE are certain places in a narrative where, although the stream flows on without natural hiatus, the historian seems entitled to stop for a couple of minutes to take breath and to knib his pen. These nodal points determine the length of his chapters. The chapter which we now commence is, unfortunately, like a new scene in a French play where the persons are '*les mêmes*.'

'La Vénus' sailed away: her commander's destiny being to enter into complications at Tahiti,—islands lying forty degrees south of Hawaii. A few months after Captain Du Petit Thouars's departure, another priest, from Valparaiso, presented himself at the Sandwich Islands, but was not permitted to land.

The attention of France was now called to *L'Océanie*. The subject of propagating the Roman Catholic religion in those distant islands, round which imagination, acting upon slight actual information, knew so well how to throw her softly-coloured halo, seized the thoughts of the pious and amiable queen of Louis Philippe. To the King himself Du Petit Thouars had represented the advantages which would accrue to France from an

occupation of the islands of the Pacific. The means for procuring the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to France lay in the introduction there of the Roman Catholic religion. An opportunity for an armed French vessel again appearing at Honolulu was soon found. Under Captain Belcher's guarantee that the English priest, Mr. Short, should withdraw as soon as possible, the latter gentleman sailed for Valparaiso. Scarcely had he left the island when the ship 'Europa' arrived there, having on board M. Maigret, Pro-vicar of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nicopolis, the head of the newly-formed see of Oceanica. H.B.M.'s frigate 'Imogen' had arrived there just previously. On Captain Bruce sailing from Valparaiso, he had been applied to by some priests to give them a passage to Oahu. This he declined to do, and at the same time advised them not to attempt to force themselves upon that country. They disregarded his advice, however, and sought other means of finding their way to the islands. M. Dudoit, the French Consul *pro tem.*, asked Captain Bruce to induce the native government to allow the priests, whom he knew to be on their way, to land; but the English commander refused to do so; and on the government asking his view of the articles arranged by Captain Du Petit Thouars, he clearly explained their weight and scope, and showed them that one nation cannot force upon another friendly nation either its religion, its laws, or its language.

The 'Europa,' with M. Maigret on board, was not allowed to come to anchor: and she was only permitted to enter the harbour on her owner giving bond in the sum of $10,000 not to permit the landing of the priest. The government remaining firm in their resolution, MM. Bachelot and Maigret purchased a schooner for

the use of their mission, and on the 23rd of November sailed from the islands, leaving Mr. Walsh the only priest in the Hawaiian kingdom. A few days after sailing M. Bachelot died. The pause of several months between this event and the arrival of Captain Laplace in the 'Artemise' may be properly filled up with some concurrent matters.

Since the transference of the vast dominions of the East India Company to the Imperial crown of Great Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company is left the greatest territorial proprietor extant. The possessions of the merchant adventurers trading in Hudson's Bay and Rupert's Land, sweep across the continent of America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They extend from corn-growing climates in the temperate zone to those boundless fields of arctic ice, where land is of a nominal value, and a fee-simple would remain invisible to its purchaser for the greater part of each year, but which have the adventitious value of being the hunting-ground for the fox, the beaver, the otter, and the bear, as the great prairies lying towards the Rocky Mountains are for the bison or buffalo. The adventurers to Hudson's Bay are essentially a trading company. Their standing army consists of about twelve men; and their adopted motto '*Pro Pelle Cutem*' might afford to a jocose Latinist several appropriate readings. Vancouver's Island was at that time one of their territories; and as early as 1834, the company, still advancing towards the setting sun, placed a trading agent in the Sandwich Islands; not with a view of obtaining furs, there being no *ferœ* there, but for the purpose of selling English manufactures. From the islands they took salt, and to them imported salmon; they also took some of the natives, transporting them from their sunny climate to

the cold northern settlements of the Company. Some of the emigrants lived and became useful servants, but the greater number of them died in their new and inhospitable home. The Company continued their agency there, operating with more or less success till about seven years ago, when they withdrew from the field, concentrating their commercial establishments in British Columbia. In the year 1841, Sir George Simpson, the territorial governor of the Company, accompanied by his secretary Mr. Edward M. Hopkins, left London, and passing over the American continent, crossed the Rocky Mountains, entered California before the gold discoveries had made that name so familiar to European ears, and taking ship at Santa Barbara, proceeded to the Sandwich Islands. Sir George was able to render some important services to the Hawaiian government in pecuniary and other ways. Several chapters of his agreeable volumes, 'An Overland Journey round the World,' are occupied with an account of this visit, and with observations made there. Sir George on leaving the islands made his way by the north-west settlements of Russia through Siberia and Russia to Europe; and having made a complete circuit of the globe, reached London almost on the same day that his secretary arrived there by a homeward journey over the Rocky Mountains, and the lakes and prairies of North America.

We must now return to the American missionaries. The Rev. W. Richards, who formed one of their number, was a very kindly, well-meaning, pious, industrious person, without any great intellectual power, who, during his twelve years' residence in the islands as a religious teacher, had acquired the native language very correctly, and was principally employed by the mission in translating. He was selected to go to the United States on

the errand previously mentioned, which proved unsuccessful. Returning to the islands in 1838, after an absence of two years, a new line of life opened itself to the former humble missionary. He became the adviser of the sovereign—a sort of conscience to the King; resided with him, accompanied him wherever he went, and acted as his interpreter, or rather as his spokesman.* He had put off his definite character of a minister of religion, to assume the task of making laws and governing a people. Alas! ambition sometimes dwells beneath unstarched white cravats and suits of black alpaca. In 1842 Mr. Richards was accredited to the United States and the Courts of London and Paris as a Minister Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary.

He was not the only member of the mission who dropped the purely spiritual office for the secular. Whilst *employés* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, these teachers of religion were supported by the Board in a liberal manner, but they were expected to attend exclusively to the duty which had been assigned them, and they could not appropriate any property which might fall into their hands, but which was to belong to the Board itself. Thus, the American missionaries were comfortably provided for against the common needs of life, and their children were educated by the Society; but whilst in the capacity of its missionaries, they could not call house or furniture, land or cattle their own. A means was found of liberating themselves from this too parental tutelage, and of passing from bondage into a position in which they could acquire and hold money, land, and every sort of property. This was effected by represent-

* See Simpson, 'Progress of Events.'

ing to the Board that they desired to be no longer a burthen on the funds of the Society; that they were able to maintain themselves in the sphere of their labours. They thus partially detached themselves from the Board and its rigorous system, whilst they retained the character of missionaries. Many of their number are supported by the congregations among whom they live, by subscriptions in money, provisions, and labour. Some of the missionaries passed into government employ; and not a few of the number showed considerable alacrity in the search of wealth, seeking it diligently, and investing it in very remunerative securities. Subsequently to the time now under consideration, Dr. Armstrong became President of the Board of Education, and retained a post which he filled efficiently till his death, which occurred accidentally in 1861.

Mr. Bingham, the most energetic of the first missionaries, appears to have been dissatisfied with the influence and proceedings of Richards, and in 1840 he retired to the United States. The latter found a coadjutor in the person of Dr. Judd, the surgeon of the mission, who on Mr. Bingham's departure took an active but undefined part in public affairs. In 1842, however, office came thick upon him. He was appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Treasury, as well as Recorder, Interpreter, and Translator to the government.

That government had continued its opposition to the encroachment of the Roman Catholic mission. In 1839 all the priests were gone except Mr. Walsh, and they would willingly have trodden out the last sparks of Romanism, had they been able. Unfortunately, they used harsh measures to the native converts,—measures which, in the language of the present day, would unhesitatingly be called persecuting. The Governor of

Oahu imprisoned many professed native Roman Catholics. It does not seem that these severities are to be charged to the advice of the missionaries. No doubt it was through them, originally, that the government tried by repressive means to prevent the spread of a system which was opposed to that of their own teachers; but according to Jarves, the missionaries placed themselves on the side of humanity, and prevented, wherever they could, intolerant punishments and captivity. So much did their remonstrances work on the King, that in June 1839 he issued orders that no more punishments should be inflicted, and that all native Roman converts should be liberated from confinement. The stigma of persecution had, however, fastened itself upon the Hawaiian government; and a rod was in preparation which its public abrogation was not to turn aside.

On the 10th of July, 1839, the French frigate 'Artemise,' Captain C. Laplace, arrived off Honolulu. Its commander immediately sent to the King a letter or manifesto, in which the indulgence and long-suffering of France were pointed out; the enormities of the Hawaiian government towards French subjects—their 'victims'—were portrayed; and most undisguised threats were held out to a nation 'misled by perfidious counsellors.' The government was accused of violating treaties; and was informed that to 'tarnish the Roman Catholic religion with the name of idolatry, and to expel it under this absurd pretext, was to offer an insult to France and its sovereign.' What embittered the sting planted in Captain Laplace's heart was that, whilst the French were suffering 'the most cruel persecution, Protestants enjoyed the most extensive privileges.'

Five conditions followed these prolegomena. They were—

*First.* That the (Roman) Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

*Second.* That a site for a (Roman) Catholic church be given by the government of Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that the church be ministered by priests of their nation.

*Third.* That all (Roman) Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries be immediately set at liberty.

*Fourth.* That the King of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the Captain of the 'Artemise' the sum of $20,000 as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France; which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

*Fifth.* That the treaty signed by the King of the Sandwich Islands, as well as the sum above mentioned, be conveyed on board the frigate 'Artemise' by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and also that the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns, which shall be returned by the frigate.

This peremptory document concluded by stating that the foregoing equitable conditions were the price at which the friendship of France was to be preserved. The King and his chiefs had their free choice to accept or reject them; only with this proviso, that if they refused, Captain Laplace would 'immediately commence war, with all the devastations and all the calamities which would be its unhappy but necessary results.' It was signed on the 10th,—9th, of July 1839.

Together with the manifesto, a letter was sent on shore to the French Consul, intimating that in case of the conditions being refused, hostilities would commence at noon of the 13th,—12th, instant, and offering under such eventualities, asylum on board the frigate to all compatriots apprehending danger. A similar communication was forwarded to the American Consul; but to the latter was added a clause that the offer of asylum did not extend 'to those individuals born in the United States, who form part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this archipelago, direct his councils, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country.'

Poor Mr. Richards and his brethren felt this very invidious and personal exclusion in its full force; particularly as Captain Laplace, in the greatness of his zeal for religion, threw out, in addition, that if one man of his vessel should be injured, his was to be a war of extermination. So tender is the commander of a French frigate over the seamen of the navy who compose his little flock.

The harbour of Honolulu was declared under blockade. The King was absent; and as he could not return within the three days of respite, a further delay of two days was granted by Captain Laplace before commencing hostilities. These days were filled up with animated discussions, with fears, with rumours of the extraordinary distance French guns would carry; also with very good arrangements made by the native authorities for preserving order in the town. There was some talk, too, of resistance. Even the English Consul,

who arrived whilst matters were progressing, was not pleased at the prospect of French domination. He had never wished well to the natives, it is true, but he wished ill to those who were now threatening them.

The King did not come. The missionaries grew more and more alarmed. There were their wives and their numerous and tender families. No doubt, they stood in a very compromised position, and had real grounds for fear. The net result of all these circumstances was, that counsels of fear prevailed; the Governor of Oahu together with the Premier signed the treaty in the absence of the King, and the material guarantee of $20,000, got together with great difficulty, was taken on board the frigate. Then the salutes were duly fired; and when all was finished, the King arrived. The business happened to be transacted on a Sunday; and when it was accomplished, Captain Laplace went on shore, and under an escort of 200 seamen with fixed bayonets celebrated a military mass in a straw palace belonging to the King. So the thunders of the 'Artemise' did not wake to avenge the departure of a French priest, who was formally pledged to leave the islands; and the blood of natives and missionaries did not mingle in a massacre of extermination, which was to have been the condign punishment for the imprisonment of some native converts.

Yet Captain Laplace's mission was not complete. There was an *arrière pensée*. The admission henceforth of French bishops was in some manner to be coincident with the admission of French brandy. A close connection of these two products of France became established; and if the historian is obliged to mention, in the same breath, the duties of the one with the duties upon the other, it is done not with any desire to mingle the

spiritual with the spirituous, but because of an actual nexus which we cannot dissolve. So identical did these two interests become, that the same native name, *palani* or *farani*, was applied to brandy and Frenchmen.

To check intemperance, the council had induced the King the previous year to prohibit the introduction of ardent spirits, and to lay a heavy duty on wines. The act seems to have been generally approved, except by those who drank deeply, or made their profits by selling these commodities. Another treaty was drawn up by the French commander: but the King objected to some of its provisions, one of which limited the duties on imports to a maximum of five per cent. Again a little gentle pressure had to be applied. The treaty was brought to the King at 5 P.M. one afternoon, and he was required to sign it by breakfast the next morning. The word 'extermination' was not indeed openly used, but rumours were set afloat in the neighbourhood of the King, that the 'Artemise' would be followed by a larger force, and that the islands might possibly be transferred to another power. The treaty was of course signed, and the 'Artemise' sailed from Honolulu.

Soon afterwards the 'Clementine' arrived from Valparaiso, bringing passengers, the Bishop of Nicopolis, M. Maigret, and two other priests. Roman Catholicism had now gained a secure footing in the islands; and though no chief of importance joined its ranks, a considerable number of the inferior natives became proselytes to its creed. A large stone church was commenced in Honolulu for the service of the Roman Catholics.

In taking leave of this part of the subject, a sad event has to be recorded, which enlists our sympathies and overlooks denominations. The Bishop returned to France to procure the instruments and ornaments re-

quired for the rites of his religion. On his way back to Hawaii, with a company of nuns and other persons who had joined the mission, and bringing with him the ecclesiastical furniture and a cargo of goods for their enlarged establishment, the vessel foundered at sea and all on board perished.

The divisions among Christians are great; the bond of a common humanity is still greater. Over the grave of fellow-men who perished in the zealous pursuit of duty, our tears may mingle together without distinction and without reproach.

A pause of two years now occurs in the tribulation. During that time no French Admiral's pennon or Captain's flag fluttered before the city of Honolulu. There were grudges and complaints between the two sects which divided the population; and among the lower orders, there were occasional collisions between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. The latter would not contribute their quota towards the public schools, and this naturally gave dissatisfaction to the government party, which was greatly the most numerous. The French fleet was pursuing its destiny in southern latitudes. In the summer of 1842 news was received of a French occupation of the Marquesan group, the rocky and picturesque islands which shelter 'the beauties of the Pacific.' It was not reassuring to the natives of Hawaii to see in August of the same year the 'Embuscade' corvette enter the harbour of Honolulu, and come to her moorings without the customary salute. The premonitory frown was quickly followed by the rebuke. Captain Mallet commanding the corvette, placed himself immediately in communication with the priests; and on the 1st of September he sent to the King one of those very decided documents made up of reprimands

and requisitions to which the Hawaiians were becoming accustomed. It complained of insults heaped upon ministers of religion; of quiet congregations menaced by subaltern authorities; of converts driven to hear Protestant sermons and to attend Protestant schools; of churches overthrown, and of treaties torn. Never have any people been so persecuted as the French.

Then followed six remedies, which the patient was to take immediately. They stipulated that a (Roman) Catholic high school should be recognized, enjoying all the privileges of the seminary at Lahainaluna, and that the government was to make a concession of land *ad hoc*. That the Roman Catholic schools should be exclusively under the intendance of inspectors professing that faith; and a provision made for supplying a *kahukula*, or inspector, in certain cases. That permission to marry be given to Roman Catholics nominated by the *kahunas* of priests. That Roman Catholics should not in future be forced to labour on schools or churches of a different worship; and that the parents of children that have embraced the Roman Catholic religion should not be ill-treated on that account. That no individual, whatever be his rank or position, be permitted to destroy a church or school, or insult a minister of the Roman Catholic religion without being severely punished.

The above demands were numbered categorically, and they were followed by a few more without numeration, but of considerable importance. By these the King was desired to confirm a grant of land made by the chief Boki to the Roman Catholic mission, and to legalize a purchase of land made by the Bishop of Nicopolis. His Majesty was to undertake a more delicate task. He was required to produce a proof that the

Abbé Maigret had signed a writing by which he acknowledged himself to be a British subject, to the great scandal of the French mission; or, if the report was a mere calumny invented to ruin a priest in the eyes of the inhabitants of the islands, then the King should cause the author of it, John Ii, Inspector-General, to sign a declaration that he had lied about the matter, or that he had been deceived therein.

Then, as the document would not have been complete or consistent without something about wine and spirits, Captain Mallet demands explanations about the sixth article of the treaty of the 17th July; and asks, with a certain *naïveté*, whether the King's limitation of the sale of brandy to a certain number of gallons, was not 'for the purpose of eluding this article of the treaty,—not to say violating it.' Captain Mallet admits that he cannot prevent the King from making judicious laws for the welfare and prosperity of his people, only he would be glad to receive information on this particular enactment, so that he might report on it to the Admiral commanding in chief the French forces in L'Océanie, who would decide on the course most proper to be taken for the maintenance of treaties and of the national dignity.'

The King returned an answer which Mr. Jarves very properly describes as courteous and dignified. It touches on all the points contained in the French commander's letter, giving such general replies as would not compromise the laws of the land. The question about brandy and wines is easily disposed of, as being a mere affair of licences, which are obtainable from the proper officers. As to John Ii, who was absent from Oahu at the time, an examination should be held about the report he had circulated, and, if necessary, a trial should be granted.

The King concludes by desiring Captain Mallet to inform the Admiral that he had despatched ministers to the King of the French to beg that a new treaty might be negotiated.

This answer, signed by Kaméhaméha III. and the Premier Kekauluohi, though conveying the sentiments of the King, was, without doubt, drawn up by the advisers he had about him; and the performance is exceedingly creditable. It also answered its end:—it satisfied Captain Mallet, who sailed from the islands. Soon after the 'Embuscade's' departure, news arrived of the establishment of a French protectorate over Tahiti, Society Islands. An alarm occasioned by French encroachment was probably not lessened in the 'country party' among the Hawaiians by the annexation of California by the United States, which event occurred about the same time.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH—ESSAYS IN CONSTITUTION-MAKING.

UP to the year 1838 the government of the Hawaiian Islands was a despotism. The King's power was absolute; and, as is usually the case with absolutisms, his chiefs in their separate spheres were smaller despots. It depended on the prowess and personal character of the Monarch to control his chiefs and really be their king, or to maintain only a nominal headship over them, and to be simply a chief among chiefs. Of defined laws it can scarcely be said that there were any. Some common prescriptive ones must have existed, for they are found in every human society. Such are rather to be called natural and instinctive laws; and without them men would dwell together as wild beasts. From time to time the King and chiefs put forth changeable decrees; and the oppressive system of tabu made itself felt as an immemorial and inevitable condition of life. Usage was almost the only system.

The American missionaries and ex-missionaries, the latter being those who had ceased upon their own request to be subsidized by the Boston Board of Missions, had obtained a considerable influence over Kaméhaméha III.; and they began to exert it in endeavouring to obtain

the King's consent to govern the nation constitutionally. The endeavour was bold and humane. It is said that the King felt great repugnance, and made some resistance, at parting with the absolute unquestioned power which had always been the right of kings of Hawaii. The missionaries, however, gained their point, and a sketch of a Constitution, occupying a sheet or two of foolscap paper, was produced. The first notion of the Exhibition Palace in Hyde Park of 1851 was scribbled by Sir Joseph Paxton on a piece of blotting-paper.

Whoever might have been the first investigator of this essential departure from an ancient despotism, Mr. Richards, who has been previously mentioned, took a leading part, afterwards, in constructing the constitutional edifice.

On the 7th of June, 1839, the King signed a Bill of Rights; and on the 8th of October, 1840, he voluntarily conferred on the people a constitution which recognized the three grand divisions of a civilized monarchy,—king, legislature, and judges, and defined in some respects the general duties of each.*

It is worthy of remark that the missionaries, who were Americans, who had lived under and perhaps loved republican institutions, never went so far as to attempt to introduce a republic in the Hawaiian Islands. Such an idea they knew to be preposterous; and they were wise enough to aim at what might be within reach; to introduce beneficial changes, and reconcile the King to a system for which models had to be sought among the old dominions of Europe. Their eyes, however, travelled farther than mere earthly types, and, consistently with

* Preface to the Statute Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, 1845, 1846.

their former profession as teachers of religion, they introduced into their scheme the theocratic element. In the preamble of 'The Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands,' borrowed partly from Scripture and partly from the American Declaration of Independence,* they start with the assertion that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth in unity and blessedness. God has bestowed certain rights alike on all men, and all chiefs, and all people of all lands.' We are not to be surprised at religious language introduced into a state paper, when the document is drawn up by a preacher. Possibly a sermon written by a Secretary of State might be conspicuous for its reticence concerning the spiritual.

The Constitution was dated October 1840. It provides that no law shall be enacted in the Hawaiian kingdom which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or with the general spirit of His Word. All laws of the island shall be in consistency with the general spirit of God's Word. It proceeds to enunciate a feudal system as regards land-possession. 'Kaméhaméha I. was the founder of the kingdom; and to him belonged all the land from one end of the islands to the other, though it was not his private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kaméhaméha was the head, and had the management of the landed property. Wherefore, there was not formerly, and is not now, any person who could or can convey away the smallest portion of land without the consent of the one who had or has the direction of the kingdom.'

There was a good deal of misstatement in these propositions, for the common people had little or no

* A. Simpson, 'Progress of Events.'

land as their own property; and, on the other hand, Kaméhaméha had, individually, large possessions.

In the small volume of 200 pages duodecimo, which contains the English version of the Constitution and laws of 1840, the translator remarks—

> The laws as they now appear are most of them of quite recent date. Some of them were enacted as far back as 1833, and others had their origin as early as 1823. But all the laws which were enacted previous to the former period, and some of a later period, have undergone such modifications and changes that they now appear with a date much later than the original.
>
> At these islands, as well as in more civilized countries, there is something like a system of common law, independent of special statutes. It consists partly in their ancient taboos, and partly in the practices of the celebrated chiefs as the history of them has been handed down by tradition, and at the present time the principles of the Bible are fully adopted.

The Constitution was to consist of the King; a House of Nobles, containing sixteen persons, of whom five were females; and a faint adumbration of the representative system, in seven individuals who were to be chosen, and would sit in council with the nobles. The manner of choosing the representatives was not very carefully defined.

At first, then, the nobles and representatives assembled in one chamber, together with the King, who acted as a kind of president. Subsequently the branches of legislature occupied separate apartments. At the beginning, the sessions of parliament were yearly; under the present system they are biennial.

'The Constitution' proceeds to organic laws. Perhaps, in examining these, they may appear to adhere more closely to the letter than to the spirit of God's

laws under the Mosaic dispensation. Mr. Simpson pronounces them to be the Blue Laws of Connecticut, with the addition of powers conferred on officers, to practise extortion and tyranny, not even possessed by a Turkish pasha. The code of laws regulates taxation; gratuitous labour of the people for the government; rent of land. It enacts curious regulations for the suppression of idleness and unchastity. If a man were found 'sitting idle, or doing nothing' on one of the days when he was free from government labour, even then, an officer might set him at work for the government till the evening. Thus, like the boy at school who was doing nothing, he was effectually taught not to do it again. But the inventive genius of the new lawgivers expatiated most ardently in regulations relating to the vices, crimes, and sins of unchastity. It seems as if they had spent days and nights in considering the subject, and presenting it in the most new, ingenious, and unexpected lights. The result of their deliberations was a sort of network very complex and very severe, yet unequal in its texture, and even in parts open to Bion's reproach of laws, that they caught the small flies and allowed the great ones to break through. Suffice it for the present to say, that in the 'Law respecting Lewdness' distinctions are drawn which are rather fine than nice, with heavy penalties for those who possess money; while disproportionately severe punishments were affixed to irregularities which morality condemns, but about which European legislation is silent, conceiving itself concerned with crimes rather than vices, and leaving the punishment of sin to another tribunal. As an instance of this disparity, in a case where the money fine for breaking the laws was fixed at twenty dollars, its equivalent was five months' imprisonment

—an imprisonment in which all the days were to be spent in hard labour, and all the nights passed in heavy manacles.

The Declaration of Rights and the Constitution were led to by a series of lectures upon Political Economy delivered to the chiefs by Mr. Richards. The organic laws, although depriving the chiefs of several of their old privileges and immunities, were passed by them unanimously, nor were they afterwards resisted; but the severity and the system of espionage which they induced caused much dissatisfaction to the common people. The laws established the government of the islands very much as it now stands. They confirmed the kingdom to Kaméhaméha III. and his heirs. The King was to appoint his successor, and, failing any such appointment by him, then the chiefs and representatives had the power to appoint. It has been mentioned that, at first, the three branches of legislature sat in one chamber; but this was probably only on particular occasions, as the Constitution provides that the chiefs and representatives were to deliberate apart, and in certain cases confer together. It continued the office of Premier, and appointed four governors, under whose charge the eight islands were placed.

That the laws were efficiently carried out, is proved by a chief having been tried for murder and hanged; and to give the laws against intoxicating liquids their utmost force, in 1842 the King and chiefs took a pledge of total abstinence. The Maine Liquor Law is one of those enthusiasms which do not last, and which lead to broken vows and to deception. The ardent spirits that so discountenance their namesakes have still to learn that moderation is the virtue set forth by the Word of God, and not total abstinence.

On Mr. Richards leaving Oahu, in 1842, on his joint diplomatic mission with Haaliliho to the United States and Europe, Mr., or as he is more generally called Dr., Judd received the appointment of Recorder; such an office having been suggested by Sir George Simpson. He also was to act as Translator and Interpreter to the government. In assuming these characters, Dr Judd dissolved his connection with the mission. His position was indeed more onerous than what these offices imply; for he became the King's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and His Majesty's universal minister, and sole director of the state.* No wonder that the ex-physician to the mission found his labours and responsibilities—the blushing honours which he bore so thick upon him—too great for his own credit and the King's safety. Mr. Ricord, a native of New Jersey, of French extraction, bred a lawyer, and who had afterwards been Secretary of State to General Houston in Texas, whilst that country remained part of the Mexican confederation, arrived in the Sandwich Islands in the beginning of 1844. At the recommendation of Dr. Judd, Mr. Ricord was appointed in March of that year to be Attorney-General and the legal adviser of the government. He was a man well qualified for the office in which he was placed, and showed considerable talent in the codification of the laws, which he immediately set himself to effect. The King had made some ineffectual efforts to procure such an officer from England, but no lawyer from this country would give up his practice and hopes here, unless for a salary which it would have been impossible for the Hawaiian exchequer to afford.

Mr. Ricord commenced his task; and on the 24th

* 'Polynesian,' July 13, 1861.

of June, 1845, the following joint resolution was passed:—

JOINT RESOLUTION.

*Be it enacted by the Nobles & Representatives of the Hawaiian Nation, in Legislative Council assembled,*

That having taken into consideration the review of the constitution made by the Attorney-General, which he read before us on the 21st of May, he be requested to draw out for us a digest of the constitution and laws, and also a project of the organic acts which he recommends, accommodating them to our condition and circumstances.

Passed in the Council Chamber, this 24th day of June, 1845.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA.
KEONE ANA.

By the end of the year the work was completed, the preface being dated 1st January, 1846. The course taken in the compilation of the laws is thus described by Mr. Ricord:—

The compiler submitted at intervals portions of the code to His Majesty in Cabinet Council of his ministers, where they have first undergone discussion and careful amendment; they have next been transferred to the Rev. William Richards for faithful translation into the native language; after which, as from a judiciary committee, they have been reported to the legislative council for criticism, discussion, amendment, adoption, or rejection. The two houses have put them upon three several readings, debated them section by section, with patience and critical care, altering and amending them in numerous essential respects, until finally passed in the form in which they now appear.*

Thus it appears that a very commendable care was

* Compiler's Preface. Honolulu, 1846.

taken both in the construction and revision of the code. The first publication of them is entitled

Statute Laws of His Majesty Kaméhaméha III., King of the Hawaiian Islands; passed by the Houses of Nobles and Representatives during the Twenty-first year of his reign and the Third and Fourth years of his Public Recognition. A.D. 1845 and 1846, &c. Volume I.

The compiler, in speaking of the former system of laws and the first constitution, says—

Some of the most obvious points in civil and criminal jurisprudence have been in some measure provided for by declaratory and penal ordinances, either proclaimed by the King before, or enacted by the legislature after the constitution was given. * * * * These laws and rules, though universally promulgated at home, and somewhat extensively abroad, were neither well known nor understood. From detached fragments they were collated and translated into the English language in 1842 by the Rev. W. Richards; that translation containing 200 pages 12mo is systematized for reference into 55 chapters, each devoted to some distinct subject of legislation. * * * * Criminally, the old law applies to the most heinous offences—to open breach of public peace and decorum—and to wrongs towards the person and property of individuals. The native dialect not admitting of distinction, these offences are all indiscriminately called '*hewa*,' which word literally means 'wrong.' It is, however, for the most part erroneously translated into the English 'crime,' regardless of the judicial meaning of that word; * * * * And the legal distinction between crimes, misdemeanors, and torts does not definitely exist in the old compilation, except by adopting the European and American measure of offences, the penalty annexed to them.

Civilly, the old law likewise embraced the most usual rights and duties of the social relations augmentative of population and incitative to industry. The fundamental basis of

landed tenures was declared, and cultivation of the soil, under a feudal tenancy not much differing from that of ancient Europe, was encouraged by relaxing the vassal service. The revenue, derived chiefly from the native population, was slight, and utterly insufficient to maintain the more regular system demanded by the increase of foreign commerce and the enhanced value of property; which required something more of the Hawaiian courts than mere investigation of facts.

As a scientific work the new code is deserving of great praise. Mr. Ricord possessed an energetic and orderly mind, and treated any subject he took up exhaustively. Among the faults of his production is the disproportion of the legislation to the wants of the people for whom it was intended. It was a framework large enough to have embraced a dozen such nations; and the Hawaiians lived under its provisions like a family for whom a mansion has been built, but who had been accustomed to a cottage, and to whom to dwell in a six-roomed house would have been the advance they desired.

Mr. Ricord gives due credit to the previous labours of the missionaries in legislating. 'The ordinances, as results of missionary labour, have been greatly serviceable in preparing the nation for what has since become indispensable to its political existence—a complete code of laws, embracing organic forms of the different departments, particularly executive and judicial, with outlines of their duties and modes of procedure, and comprehensive civil and criminal digests.

The constitution and code are contained in two acts of Kaméhaméha III., which were supported by after joint-resolutions of the legislative council. They bear date respectively the 29th of October and the 10th of December, 1845. The first is entitled 'An Act

to organize the Executive Ministry of the Hawaiian Islands.' It enacts that five ministers shall be appointed and regularly commissioned by the King under the great seal of the kingdom to conduct the several executive functions reposed by the constitution in His Majesty; of whom one shall be the Constitutional Premier, and the other four be removeable at all times and at the mere pleasure of the King, in concert with the Premier.

The Premier was to be Minister of Interior Affairs: the other four ministers were to hold equal rank in the King's service, but to take precedence in the following order:—

1. The Minister of Foreign Relations. 2. The Minister of Finance. 3. The Minister of Public Instruction. 4. The Attorney-General.

The second act is entitled 'An Act to organize the Executive Departments of the Hawaiian Islands.' It is divided into five parts, relating to the five ministers; the parts methodically subdivided into chapters and articles; and it embraces everything, from the Military Power, down to Exceptions to the Taxation of Cats. As a matter of curiosity, a few instances may be cited from this comprehensive legislation. For example, at that early day an etiquette of the strictest order was established. 'All orders of nobility—of etiquette and precedence—of rank and title—of official dress—of salutes—of official ceremonies and of national courtesy—shall be established upon definite rules by orders in council, signed by the King and attested by the Premier, and duly promulgated for the information of the people.' The rules of precedence of the Congress of Vienna were adopted in all intercourse under the head of Foreign Relations. Provisions were made for

the protection of inventions in machinery and art; for the issue of patents to inventors, and copyright to literary authors. The enactment as regarded religion was ample and distinct. Protestantism was re-proclaimed as the religion of the government, 'but no connection was to subsist between the ecclesiastical and the body politic.' The Judaic leaven relative to the Lord's day remained. It was named the Sabbath; all transactions of worldly business on that day were unlawful, and it was to be a *dies non* in law. All documents dated on the Sabbath were to be deemed in law to have no date and to be void in consequence. There were some exceptions added for cases of crime and fraud, where arrest and committal were of immediate necessity.

The Minister of Public Instruction was to show no partiality towards one denomination of Christians to the prejudice of others, in conferring offices, or licences to teach. The laws of Kaméhaméha III. orally proclaimed, abolishing all idol worship and ancient heathenish customs, were continued in force, with pains and penalties attached, in the criminal code. Congregations of fifty individuals professing the same religious tenets were to have permission, on petition, to erect 'a church or other religious conventicle,' and to receive a portion of land for a parsonage and for the support and use of the clergyman.

The King in privy council could by proclamation set apart days of fasting, humiliation, and thanksgiving; and such decree, when promulgated, was to be obligatory on all persons, provided that the days set apart had no sectarian tendency, or favoured one sect to the injury of another. It may here be remarked that, till the present time, the first of January has always been

proclaimed a day of thanksgiving, by public announcement; and the people are religiously invited to recount on that day God's mercies vouchsafed to the Hawaiian nation during the past year.

The laws relating to filial duties are pretty strict—children were to submit to correction, and not to run away. All those above the age of fourteen absenting themselves from parental control were, when caught, to be amenable to the labour tax and liable to impressment into the government service as vagrants. To encourage the growth of population, fathers of two children were in certain cases to be free from the chattel tax. Three children exempted from the labour tax.

This oppressive tax was re-enacted with modifications. The year was divided into thirteen lunar months, and during the first week of the month three days' labour were to be performed for the government, and in the second week two days' labour. None was required during the other fortnight.

Provision was made for a census;—the people are enumerated every three years. The English standards and divisions of weights and measures were established. For currency, the silver coin adopted was the American dollar, and a copper cent was to be coined with national inscriptions and the King's head.

There was a law of Fish-tabu, distinguishing the several kinds; some of which, like the sturgeon in England, were royal fish, and were to be divided equally between the King and the fishermen; with other provisions respecting piscary.

Not to be tedious, only two other enactments shall be mentioned. There was a tax on household furniture, and a dollar a year on dogs and cats: but dogs could emancipate themselves from the tax by learning to be

useful in guarding houses, flocks, and herds; and cats were not to be impoverished by taxation, if they kept at home and watched warehouses.

Finally, the organic act was to be published in the English and Hawaiian languages.

Such is a sketch of the constitution and code of 1845. It was introduced on its completion by a speech from the throne. Since that occasion a succession of royal speeches have been pronounced. These addresses of the two kings before the present Monarch have been collected and printed, and they serve as good landmarks for tracing the onward destinies of the nation. The King's ministers are, as is usual, responsible for their form and language, but it is stated that the ideas conveyed in them are very sincerely expressed, and expose truly the views of the Monarch upon public questions.

The King spoke on the 20th of May, 1845, as follows:—

Nobles and Representatives of the People:

I have called you together to deliberate on matters connected with the good of my kingdom.

In the exercise of my prerogatives, I have appointed Gerrit P. Judd, Esq., to be my Minister for the Interior Affairs of my kingdom; Robert C. Wyllie, Esq., to be my Minister of Foreign Relations; and John Ricord, Esq., to be my Law Adviser in all matters relating to the Administration of Justice.

I have ordered my Ministers to lay before you reports of their several departments.

The Independence of my kingdom has been most explicitly recognized by the United States, France, and Belgium. From each of these powers I have received the most friendly assurances.

It is my wish to cultivate the relations of peace and friend-

ship with all nations, and to treat the subjects of all with equal justice.

With this view, I recommend to your consideration the better organization of the Courts of Justice, the division of powers, and a careful revisal of the laws.

The laws regulating licences, the tenure of lands, the registration of vessels, the harbour regulations, the duties, the fines for the punishment and correction of offences, the laws for the collection of debts and taxes generally, deserve your attention.

My Minister of the Interior will lay before you the estimates of the expenses required for the ensuing year, for which it is incumbent on you to provide, with a due regard to economy and the means of my people.

It is my desire that you take measures to ascertain whether the number of my people be diminishing or increasing; and that you devise means for augmenting the comforts and the prosperity of my islands.

I consider it the first of my duties to protect religion, and promote good morals and general education. It will, therefore, be your duty to consider by what means those blessings can be best promoted and extended among the people of these islands, and also among the foreigners resident in my dominions.

I am well aware that the Word of God is the corner-stone of my kingdom. Through its influence we have been introduced into the family of the independent nations of the earth. It shall therefore be my constant endeavour to govern my subjects in the fear of the Lord; to temper justice with mercy in the punishment of crime; and to reward industry and virtue.

The Almighty Ruler of nations has dealt kindly with me in my troubles, in restoring my kingdom, together with special guarantees for its existence as an independent nation.

May He also aid you in your deliberations, and may He grant His special protection to me, to you, and my people.

The constitution as settled in 1845 was not destined to continue long. As soon as born it began to draw to its end, or rather to be remodelled, altered, improved.

The missionary influence, which had hitherto been all-prevailing over the government, was beginning to decline; other elements were being introduced. The Minister of the Interior, though an American, had ceased connection with the mission to which he was originally the physician. Mr. Ricord, the Attorney-General, also an American, was a man of unusually strong and independent mind; retaining a very slight belief in democracy, and feeling decided tendencies towards a monarchy, and respect for the advantages of the British constitution. Indeed he does not hesitate to say in one of his letters, 'I am a rank Tory in this matter.'

Mr. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Relations, a Scotch proprietor, who had spent many years in London, where he was well known, a man of indefatigable habits, and who had become a thorough Conservative, formed the key-stone of the governmental arch. Nor was there wanting the inductive effect of outer influence; for the late English Consul had been replaced by a man of much higher character, William Miller, Esq., whose romantic valour in the Chilian war of independence rivals that of Cervantes, and resembles in some points the trans-atlantic portion of Garibaldi's life. Mr. Miller attained the rank of General in the Chilian army, and received the bâton of a Field Marshal from Peru. He was appointed by the English government their Consul-General in the Hawaiian Islands, which rank was subsequently raised to that of English Commissioner. It is added with regret that news of General Miller's death has been received a few hours before these lines were written.*

* 1862. The official record of the English Foreign office thus epitomizes General Miller's life:—

'William Miller served in the Field Train Department of the Royal

New light was breaking in; the circumstances of the world at large were changing; the Hawaiian nation, or rather its King and his sagest advisers, saw that it was necessary to meet the times. The advance of a true liberality is observed in reading consecutively the royal speeches. Kaméhaméha, or as the people still call him, Kauikeaouli the Beloved, showed a sincere devotion to his people in the disinterested suggestions he made for the benefit of his subjects, native and foreign, and still more in what he gave up of ancient privileges and possessions. From time to time the attention of the legislative body was called to a reconsideration of particular statutes. In 1850 the King recommends the two houses to take into their earliest consideration the decrease of the native population, and to devise means to stay its progress. In the same speech he announces the downfall of the old feudal system. 'In June, 1848, in concurrence with my chiefs, and with the aid of my Privy Council, I made a division of lands, upon the principle of surrendering the greater portion of my royal domain to my chiefs and people, with a reserve of certain lands for the support of the fort and garrison of my capital, and certain other lands as my own private property, in lieu of the share which I, inheriting the right of my predecessors, held in all the lands of the islands. Under that joint-tenure, all lands howsoever

Artillery from January 1, 1811, until the peace of 1815; was present in several of the sieges and actions in the Peninsular war, and also in North America. Entered the Buenos Ayres Artillery in 1817; served in Chili and Peru against the Royalist forces; was raised to the rank of General of Division, April 8, 1823; during 1824 and 1825 was under the command of General Bolivar; was appointed Consul-General in the Sandwich Islands and other islands in the Pacific, August 16, 1843; and Commissioner and Consul-General in the Sandwich Islands and their dependencies, December 1, 1855. Died October 31, 1861.'

or to whomsoever donated, were revocable at will; no man's possession, even that of the highest chief, was secure, and no man thought of improving land, the possession of which was so uncertain. And for the further protection of the interests of his poorer subjects, the King announces that on the 21st of December, 1849, certain resolutions were passed with a view of giving to the industrious cultivators of the soil an allodial title to the portions they occupied, and to facilitate the acquisition of land, in fee simple, by others inclined to be industrious.

To render the people provident, the King recommends the trial of a savings' bank. He also proposes for the careful consideration of the legislature the project for a criminal code, along with several legal enactments and amendments of laws, of which experience has demonstrated the necessity.

Such, and similar to these, were the efforts of the King and his best counsellors to give the islands the advantage of a good and enlightened system of government.

It resulted, in the process of time, that three commissioners were appointed, who were to prepare jointly the draft of a new constitution. The King was represented in this commission by Dr. Judd, whose democratic prepossessions having been bred in the bone remained unabated. The chiefs selected Joane Ii, one of their own order, though not of high rank. He had been concerned in the first constitution. The representatives chose Mr. Lee, the Chief Justice, a tenacious, clear-headed man, born and educated in the United States, and who had acquired a large measure of influence in the islands. Thus, republican principles were maintained in the commission in the proportion of two

to one; and even the native representative had but a small bias towards monarchical institutions.

Under these auspices the constitution of 1852 was engendered. The draft was submitted to legislature, and after going through the necessary forms, it was signed by the King on the 14th of June, 1852, and became the law of the Hawaiian Islands, *vice* the constitution of 1844, dismissed.

With such a democratic preponderance in the commission, we are only surprised that so much of the monarchical remains in the constitution; and that so original and strange an institution as the premiership should have been retained. Kaméhaméha I. originated the office, to which he appointed his beloved Kaahumanu. On the death of Kinau the Premier, the idea was suggested that her infant daughter, Victoria Kinau Kaahumanu, should in time succeed her mother in the office nearest the throne. She is sister to the present King. During the Princess's minority, the chief John Young (Keone Ana) acted as her *locum tenens*. The office of premier of the kingdom is a very peculiar one. Whilst it adds no security to the operations of government, it detracts from the King's dignity. Every document of State requires to be countersigned by the Premier, an arrangement often fraught with the highest inconvenience, and producing annoying delay. A commission or any other document of immediate necessity, issued by the advice of Privy Council and bearing the King's sign-manual, is invalid till it receives the Princess's counter-signature; and as the Premier's duties are not supposed to detain her constantly at the seat of government, the ill-consequences are sometimes very serious. Upon a resistance by the Premier to sign a document, the King has upon more than one occasion

dismissed the drag upon his wheels, and appointed a new Premier; then, having obtained the desired counter-signature, has restored his sister to her office.

By the last constitution, the Privy Council became a more pronounced and important adjunct of the State, whilst the element of representation still remains undefined, and as it were in its nonage. The people chose, and probably still choose, their representatives, not with that care and previous inspection with which Mrs. Primrose chose her wedding-gown, but in an offhand, *al fresco* manner. They placed more importance on the selection of their tax-gatherers and road-inspectors than they did on the election of their representatives in parliament, for the operative functions of the former, the petty officers, touched their purses and personal well-being the more closely. Questions of irrigation, and the length of a day's labour, had greater interest to the country people than higher and more abstract discussions of the senate, though they soared to the divine right of kings, or the peaceable relations of great foreign powers.*

Had Mr. Wyllie, the intelligent and indefatigable Minister of Foreign Affairs, with his stout attachment to monarchy, been invited to the commission instead of Dr. Judd, there can be no doubt that more actual power would have vested in the King. Whatever may

* Since the above passage was written, a remarkable exception to what is stated has occurred. The biennial election of representatives took place in January 1862, and was attended with the greatest excitement; some acts of violence even, having been committed at the polling-places. This popular fervour was the effect not so much of an increased value attributed to the privileges of suffrage, as of religious partisanship —the Roman Catholic voters pressing forward their candidates with the utmost earnestness, and, of course, causing thereby as earnest an opposition.

have been the causes which operated on His Majesty's choice, his able minister had no direct hand in drafting the constitution. Yet Mr. Wyllie's weight and influence with the government were well known; and though not on board when the ship was launched from the stocks, a good pilot was at the helm, and was doing all he could to steer her straight.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE CARYSFORT AFFAIR.

AN expression occurred in the King's speech given in the preceding chapter which must now be explained. It was an expression of thankfulness for an escape out of troubles, and it spoke of a restoration of his kingdom. The circumstances alluded to require that we should retrace our steps several years.

The happy-and-united-family condition of the commercial community in its early days did not always continue. As interests grew larger, and the mercantile class comprised English and European traders as well as Americans, there were occasional bickerings, jealousies, lawsuits. The consular appointments had not been happy. England was represented by Mr. or Captain R. Charlton, a careless, free-living man, much opposed to the straight missionary clique, not disliked by the native population, but deficient in diplomatic knowledge; and in a small way the trading consuls were obliged to act in a political capacity and to exert personal influence. The first Commercial Agent, as the Americans style their consuls, was still more unfit for his office; and so objectionable did he become to the native government, that upon their earnest remonstrance at Washington, Mr. Jones was removed, and was replaced by a Mr. Brinsmade, the senior partner of a house of business at Honolulu, trading

under the name of Ladd & Co. Mr. Brinsmade was one of those rapid, intelligent, all-sided men which the social hot-bed of the United States produces so quickly and in such numbers—a man who, if his practice as a surgeon fell off, would turn merchant; if he failed in that, would become an editor; or meeting with disappointment in the last vocation, would without hesitation climb the steps of the rostrum as a preacher; and even at a pinch would offer himself as a candidate for the presidentship. Mr. Brinsmade's manners were not unpleasing; he wrote with point and rapidity, and his pen had a scabrous edge. The firm of which he was the leading member was a peculiar one. Its three constituents came out from the United States in 1833, to try the experiment of conducting business on 'purely Christian principles,' and of making their firm 'a pattern card of mercantile morality.' It was thought that the house received pecuniary assistance from the Boston Board Missions; * it is certain that the missionary influence in the islands was strongly exercised in its favour, and the firm conducted the principal secular affairs of the Mission. The partners obtained, for an insignificant consideration, the grant of a long lease of a large tract of land on the island of Kauai for the establishment of sugar plantations; it also gained wharfage and warehouse sites in the harbour of Honolulu, together with valuable privileges in the shape of exemption from duties, and a supply of native labour. It is humiliating to think that a house commencing business with an unlimited capital of Christian principles should end in bankruptcy.

The peace of the happy commercial family had been disturbed towards the year 1840 by claims and

* A. Simpson, 'Progress of Events.'

counter claims, arising out of business transactions between the American and British traders. Such a case occurred in 1839; and upon submitting the dispute to arbitration, Brinsmade's house was declared indebted to an English subject to the extent of 6,000*l*. Subsequently such claims were decided by juries; but as it was before the promulgation of the Constitution and the Code, proceedings were most irregular, and entirely of an amateur character. In 1840, in consequence of the refusal of English residents to contribute towards the construction of a new road, the Governor of Oahu forcibly caused the native servants of non-contributors to labour on the work. Complaints were in consequence made to the English Consul,—the Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company being one of the complainants. A great deal of ill-feeling was elicited between the British, Governor Kekuanaoa, and the Americans who sided with him. These difficulties arose about some jury cases and the proportions of English and American empanelled. A difficulty of this kind was referred to Captain Jenkin Jones, who with H.B.M.'s ship 'Curaçoa' was then in the harbour; but the English commander's intervention, if anything, made matters worse than they were before, and the acrimony which existed between classes was excessive. The English Consul, whatever good points he might have possessed, was unfit for his position; he was hasty in temper, and uncouth in his communications, and had made himself many enemies. In the meantime the influence of Mr. Brinsmade, the United States Commercial Agent, over the King and the native government, was rapidly increasing.

Sir George Simpson, the Territorial Governor of Hudson's Bay, was at the time visiting the islands. He gave the government the benefit of his advice,

and also made them a loan of 10,000*l.* Amongst other things, Sir George recommended that commissioners should be appointed to proceed to the United States and Europe, to negotiate for an acknowledgment of the independence of the islands, and for a guarantee against their usurpation by any of the great powers. The commissioners appointed on this errand were the Rev. W. Richards, the chief Timoteo Haalilio, and Sir George Simpson. The last-named immediately left for the North-West Settlements of Russia, and travelling through Siberia, made his way to London. In July 1842, Mr Richards and Haalilio started for the United States, viâ Mazatlan.

There was quite an eastern emigration. Mr. Brinsmade had already taken his departure for Europe, with designs which will be hereafter explained. He left his partner, Mr. Hooper, to act in his absence. Lastly, Mr. Charlton found, or fancied he found, that he was dwelling in a wasp's nest, and that everybody was against him. 'Irritated by the numerous insults he had received, and the open disregard by the government officers of his interference when British subjects were concerned; thinking also, that it was necessary that the representations to be made by Richards and Haalilio and their backers should be met on the spot, he determined to proceed to London, viâ Mexico.'* He accordingly took wing from the islands in September of the same year, leaving as his substitute, Mr. Alexander Simpson, who had arrived there on business of the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson was a relative of Sir George's, and brother to the discoverer of the same name, who, with Dease, completed the survey of the northern coast of America.

* 'Progress of Events.'

The temper in which the English Consul left Hawaii will be seen by the following letter in which he announced to the King his intended departure:—

British Consulate, Woahoo, Sept. 26, 1842.

Sir,

From the insults received from the local authorities of Your Majesty's government, and from the insults offered to my Sovereign, Her most Gracious Majesty, Victoria the First, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by Mathew Kekuanaoa, Governor of this island; and for other weighty causes affecting the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in these islands, I consider it my bounden duty to repair immediately to Great Britain to lay statements before Her Majesty's government, and have therefore appointed, by commission, as I am fully authorized to do, Alexander Simpson, Esq., to act as consul until Her Majesty's pleasure be known.

Your Majesty's government has more than once insulted the British flag, but you must not suppose that it will be passed over in silence. Justice, though tardy, will reach you; and it is you, not your advisers, that will be punished.

I have the honour to be Your Majesty's most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD CHARLTON,
Consul.

His Majesty Kaméhaméha.

This letter is a specimen of Mr. Charlton's written communications, and are indicative of his humour when he left the islands,—never to return. But he had another and a very personal cause of disquietude at that time. A debt incurred to some persons at Valparaiso, ten years before, was pressed; and the claimants had commissioned Mr. Pelly, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, to collect it for them. A suit was instituted against Charlton, and shortly after his departure, a verdict was given by a jury composed of foreigners,

against the English Consul. It was in this mood, and 'all smarting with his wounds,' that he fell in on his way to England with Lord George Paulet, commanding H.B.M.'s frigate 'Carysfort.' Into his lordship's ear he poured the story of wrongs, insults, and expected dangers.

Of Mr. Charlton himself, we now take leave. He went to the Foreign Office, and was summarily relieved from his post by Lord Aberdeen, who disapproved of his conduct in the islands, and particularly its ill-judged conclusion. Nor was his consular representative in Honolulu, Mr. Simpson, in an agreeable or flattering position. The King and the government would not recognize him in his official character; the bickerings increased; resolutions and counter-resolutions of the residents were passed, condemnatory, complimentary, &c., &c. In the meanwhile, though the English flag drooped listlessly over the consulate, the consular substitute found himself excluded from the official circle, and in his turn was lashing himself into great anger; and in consequence of the verdict given against Charlton, in his Valparaiso matter, the property of the latter was attached for payment by an order of the Court. The action of the judicature which had been invoked by the creditors' agent was stigmatized as an interference, and was condemned by a meeting of British subjects. On the other hand, a solemn resolution was come to by other residents, English and foreign, supporting the government, deprecating the dangers and difficulties into which it was being brought by 'machinations and misrepresentations,' and declaring the conduct of the Consul and Mr. Simpson to have been 'vexatious, arbitrary, and hostile in the extreme.' So the quarrel was a very pretty quarrel as it stood.

In November Mr. Simpson addressed a letter to H.B.M.'s Consul for the Western coast of Mexico, informing him of all the current events. The Consul indoctrinated with his views Rear-Admiral Thomas, Commander in Chief on the Pacific station. The English Admiral believing the persons and property of English subjects to be in peril, despatched Lord George Paulet in the 'Carysfort' to enquire into and to redress these wrongs, and to ward off these dangers. On February 10, 1843, that is, before the sale of Mr. Charlton's property had been proceeded with, the 'Carysfort' arrived at Honolulu, and showed by withholding the usual salutes, that there was displeasure in her visit.

Mr. Simpson, the English Acting Consul, immediately went on board the frigate, and had an interview with Lord George, from whom he received letters from Admiral Thomas. Dr. Judd also went on board, with the intention of paying an official visit, but the King being absent at the time on another island, he was not received. Official visits from the consular representatives of France and the United States were equally declined; but mutual unofficial calls and civilities were proceeded with. On the 11th Captain Paulet addressed a letter to the Governor of Oahu, stating that his arrival at Honolulu was for the purpose of affording protection to British subjects and support to H.B.M.'s representative, who had received repeated insults, &c., and adding that it was his intention to communicate only with the King in person. In reply to this despatch, Governor Kekuanaoa wrote that he would immediately send to Maui where the King was, and His Majesty might be expected at Honolulu in six days.

On the 13th, the United States corvette 'Boston,' Captain Long, arrived. Her commander maintained a

proper neutrality during the proceedings; but her presence was gladly, and naturally, welcomed by the American residents. Proper courtesies passed between Captain Long and Lord George Paulet.

On the 16th, the King having arrived from Maui, Lord George wrote, demanding a private interview. This request having been considered by the King and his counsellors, the private interview was declined. The answer to the note stated the readiness of the King and the Premier to receive a written communication; and that in case any business of a private nature required to be transacted, the King would appoint Dr. Judd 'his confidential agent' to confer with Captain Paulet.

Whether the refusal of the desired interview was the proper step to have taken, need not be discussed. Lord George was irritated by it, and wrote the same day, the 17th, declining to hold any communication with Dr. Judd, and enclosing a paper of 'demands' made on the native government, to which compliance was demanded at or before four P.M. the following day,—Saturday. The paper was entitled, 'Demands made by the Right Hon. Lord George Paulet, Captain, R.N., commanding H.B. Majesty's ship "Carysfort," upon the King of the Sandwich Islands.' The demands were six in number. The first required, that the attachment on Charlton's property should be removed; that land stated to be Charlton's, and which the government had appropriated, should be restored, and reparation be made for the heavy loss to which his representatives had been exposed 'by the oppressive and unjust proceedings of the Sandwich Islands government.' The second demand related to the rights and dignity of Mr. Simpson, acting for the English Consul, and to Her Majesty the Queen, who had been sorely insulted through

Mr. Simpson's sides. These blots to be wiped out by a public reception of the Acting Consul's Commission, and by a salute of twenty-one guns to the English flag, which salute should be returned by the 'Carysfort.' The third demand was for a guarantee that no English subject should be imprisoned in fetters, unless for felony. The fourth, that a new trial should be granted in the matter of Skinner *versus* Dominis. The fifth demand related to disputes between British subjects and natives, proposing that such disputes should be referred to mixed juries, one half the number empanelled to be English subjects. The sixth, demanded a direct communication between the King and the English Acting Consul 'for the immediate settlement of all cases of grievance and complaint on the part of British subjects against the Sandwich Islands government.

Such were the concessions demanded from the King and his advisers, for deciding on which demands the King was allowed till four P.M. the following day. They were the fruits of Charlton's unfitness and violence, and the egotism of his substitute.

Lord George notified to the commander of the American corvette his intention to make an attack upon the town at four o'clock the next day, if the demands sent to the King were not complied with before that hour. The Americans and some other foreigners placed their funds and papers on board the 'Boston,' and prepared to take refuge there themselves in the event of actual hostilities.

The first feeling induced by Captain Paulet's communication was that of dismay; the next, of indignation. The common people, ignorant of the effect of a broadside of 64 and 32 pounders from a frigate of a thousand tons burden, began to arm. They would get them a

sword though it were made of lath, against such an armament as the 'Carysfort's.' The next morning the frigate was cleared for action, and her battery brought to bear upon the little fort. An English vessel was towed out of the harbour, and the ladies and children, protected by that flag, went on board of her. The turmoil of natural feelings having had its play for several hours, the advisers of the King and his chiefs succeeded in demonstrating the fallacy of a possible resistance on shore, or an attack, by boarding, on the frigate. Before the sanguinary hour arrived, peaceful counsels were allowed to prevail, and a letter, dated the 18th, was sent off to the 'Carysfort,' acknowledging the receipt of the paper of demands, and making known to Lord George, that Sir George Simpson and Mr. Richards had been commissioned as ministers plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain, with full powers to settle difficulties, and to assure Her Majesty the Queen, of the uninterrupted affection of the King and the Hawaiian nation, and to confer with her ministers as to the best means of securing harmony between the two nations. The King and Premier, whilst they deprecated some of the demands sent in as embarrassing to a feeble government and as contravening the laws, yet would comply with the whole of them under protest, and with the intention of representing their case to the English government. The letter was signed by the King and the Premier Kekauluohi.

This decision, however humiliating, was no doubt the wisest that could have been come to. Lord George replied immediately and appointed that an interchange of salutes should take place at two o'clock the same day. He also demanded as Her Britannic Majesty's representative an interview with the King.

Later in the afternoon a formal protest was lodged against the proceedings of Lord George Paulet, and a solemn appeal to the English government was entered for redress, justification, &c.

Monday the 20th, was fixed for the interview. The same day the King and the Premier visited the 'Carysfort,' and were received with royal honours. This interchange of civilities proved, however, most fallacious. The six demands had been acceded to under great pressure, and any *casus belli* seemed to have been removed; but the following day a new series of demands, in the form of claims for money, was sent in, with some other rather oppressive stipulations attached to it. There is a well-known fungus, the *phallus impudicus*, which grows more rapidly than any vegetable production. It springs up and attains its full dimensions in a night, and its expansion can even be observed by the eye. Yet the growth of this unpleasant cryptogam did not equal in rapidity or extent the sudden indebtedness of the Hawaiian government, as noted during a few hours on board the 'Carysfort' frigate. In half a day a mushroom debt of $117,330, 89 c. (so scrupulously exact were the computers) had pushed itself into being, and been delineated on paper. One item alone may be mentioned as a finance curiosity. The aid of a naval commander-in-chief had been invoked to prevent the sale of some effects of Mr. Charlton, attached for debt. That sale was happily averted by a captain of a frigate leaving a lucrative station, and threatening an unprotected town with his guns. But a 'connection of the sufferer' had put by $10,000 in order to purchase his relative's property sold under execution; and that sale not taking place, the intended purchaser found himself endamaged

to the extent of $3,000 by the non-transaction. It will be unnecessary after this, to audit the account of claims farther.

The new schedule of demands filled the King and his counsellors with despair. It would occupy too much space to describe the agitations, the conferences, the plans which occupied them for the succeeding four days. They saw that contention was hopeless, that concession was only provocative of further demands. An immediate cession of the islands to France or to the United States was canvassed. The effects which would follow an attempted resistance were too clear. Interviews and remonstrances were held with Lord George Paulet and Mr. Simpson; and at last it was decided to cut the knot of difficulty by ceding the Hawaiian archipelago to the English government in the person of Lord George Paulet; not so much handing them over in part payment of the debt so suddenly developed, as acting on the wise principle of placing oneself and all one's valuables in a robber's hands, as the last resource for personal safety.

The cession was made in the following terms:—

In consequence of the difficulties in which we find ourselves involved, and our opinion of the impossibility of complying with the demands in the manner in which they are made by Her Britannic Majesty's representative upon us, in reference to the claims of British subjects, we do hereby cede the group of islands known as the Hawaiian (or Sandwich) Islands, unto the Right Hon. Lord George Paulet, Captain of Her Britannic Majesty's ship of war 'Carysfort,' representing Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, from this date, and for the time being: the said cession being made with the reservation, that it is subject to any arrangement that may have been entered into by the representatives appointed by us

to treat with the Government of Her Britannic Majesty ; and in the event that no agreement has been entered into previous to the date hereof, subject to the decision of Her Britannic Majesty's Government on conference with the said representatives appointed by us ; or in the event of our representatives not being accessible, or not having been acknowledged, subject to the decision which Her Britannic Majesty may pronounce on the receipt of full information from us, and from the Right Hon. Lord George Paulet.

In confirmation of the above we hereby affix our names and seals this Twenty-fifth day of February, in the year of our Lord 1843, at Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands.

Signed in the presence of G. P. Judd, Recorder and Translator for the Government.

KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOI.

Such was the document by which the Gordian knot was cut. After four days of misery, doubt, and endless conference, the King felt the natural relief which attends a decision of any sort. If therefore he shook hands with Lord George and Mr. Simpson after that decision was made, and said, 'Now I'm happy, and I go to take a ride,' it argues no levity or indifference about the very grave position in which he and his kingdom had been placed; it speaks only of the rebound from depressing anxieties, the springing up of the heart from its prison of pain, and the desire to be quit of the scene of indignity, and to find rest and refreshment in rapid motion. The same day the cession was signed, the King issued a patriotic address to the 'chiefs, people, and commons from his ancestors,' and to 'the people from foreign lands,' expressing under what difficulty and perplexities he had given away the 'life

of our land' and his hope that it would be restored to them. Too great weight need not be attached to this document, because though in the native form of speaking, the pen was probably guided by Dr. Judd and his associates.

Provision was immediately made for carrying on the government of the islands conjointly by the King and chiefs, and a commission consisting, in addition, of Lord George Paulet, Mr. Frere, a lieutenant on board the 'Carysfort,' and a gentleman then visiting the islands, named Mackay. The Hawaiian flag was hauled down, as the deed of cession was read in the square of the fort, and the British colours were hoisted in its place; and at the same time the flag that waved over the English consulate was struck, Mr. Simpson's functions being at an end. It is worthy of remark that the day when these transactions, so melancholy and humiliating to the Hawaiian nation, took place, the 25th of February, was the forty-ninth anniversary of the cession of the islands made to Vancouver.

The British flag was hoisted on all the islands, but the people chafed under the new rule. The French Consul refused to acknowledge the new government, and his official functions were suspended; an additional duty was levied on imports, and certain restrictions upon vice having been abrogated, the old days seemed to have returned, prostitution walked open and shameless in the city, and women went off to the ships in the harbour without restraint. It is complained in the history of that time, that the King and his chiefs were repeatedly insulted, and that efforts were made to seize on the national treasury and records.

On the 11th of March Mr. Simpson left Honolulu for London, with despatches from Lord George Paulet to

the Foreign Office. The King and his chiefs wishing to be represented there, Mr. Marshall, an American subject, was secretly instructed, and travelled in the same vessel, one belonging to the King, to Mexico, with the exacting English Consul, and thence to the United States—but without making known the object of his journey.

At the end of June, Dr. Judd, who had previously withdrawn from his office under the new government, of King's deputy, removed the national records secretly from the government house, to the tomb of the Kings. Thither he retired, himself, to work; and 'in this abode of death, surrounded by the sovereigns of Hawaii, using the coffin of Kaahumanu for a table, for many weeks he nightly found an unsuspected asylum for his own labours in behalf of the kingdom.' In reading this passage we seem to have wandered back to the neighbourhood of Damascus, and to be engaged with the age of the Khalifat of Haroun Er Raschid and his trusty Vizier. We feel glad that some energy and even romance still remain in these pigmy times of ours.

On the 6th of July, the U.S. ship 'Constellation,' Commodore Kearney, arrived at Honolulu, and protested against the 'seizure' of the islands, and he treated the King and chiefs on all occasions as independent princes. Lord George Paulet having written remonstrances to the King, the latter came from Maui, to communicate with Commodore Kearney. Captain Paulet was irritated by this proceeding, and things began to look badly, when on the 26th of the month, the 'Dublin' frigate bearing Rear Admiral Thomas's pennant, arrived off Honolulu. He had received letters from Lord George, and had left Valparaiso in consequence. He immediately made known his intention of

restoring the islands to their natural governors. The joyful news quickly spread among the people. On the 27th, the Admiral in an interview with the King agreed to the terms of restoration; and although stipulations were contained in these, very favourable to English interests, and likely to occasion some embarrassments to the native government in executing them, yet the inconveniences were as nothing in the scale weighed against the great and unexpected benefit conferred in giving back 'the life of the land.' On the 31st, the restoration was publicly made, amidst acclamations and joy. Eastward of the city lies an extensive plain, which was chosen for the scene of this conspicuous act of justice. Thither poured the population of Honolulu early in the day, under a cloudless and smiling sky. At ten in the morning, the English marines being drawn up in line, supported by a corps of artillery, the King, escorted by his own troops, arrived on the ground. As the royal standard was unfurled, the brass guns of the 'Dublin's' corps fired a salute, and simultaneously the English colours were lowered at the forts, and the Hawaiian flag rushed up and fluttered joyfully in the morning breeze. Then spoke out their salutations, the guns of the ships of war 'Dublin,' 'Hazard,' 'Carysfort,' and 'Constellation,' together with those of the two forts and the shipping in the harbour. If explosions of powder can make men glad, the Hawaiians were glad that day. The military having been reviewed, the King returned to his house, where the native troops raised by Lord George Paulet, saluted the King's flag, and swore fealty to their sovereign. The officers who had received British commissions kissed the King's hand. At one, there was divine service at church, and then the King in the sacred edifice addressed his people, and told

them how 'the life of the land' had been restored to him. His would be no cold words. The unrealities of older civilized states had not yet taught the Polynesians to listen to official eloquence with unbelieving calmness and a condescending 'hear hear,' in its due place. Kaméhaméha III. had serious faults of character, but he loved his people and his land with a warm, true, and devoted love, and the words which he uttered that day were genuine and deeply felt both by the speaker, and his breathless auditory. The King's speech was followed by a spirited address from one of the chiefs, who announced, in his sovereign's name, a general amnesty, the release of all prisoners, and a festival of ten days. During that period of carnival, balls and entertainments were given by the residents of Honolulu, in which native chiefs, and the officers of the numerous men-of-war in port, met in friendly intercourse; and before the festival days were over, the U.S. ships 'United States' and 'Cyane' arrived, bringing with them news which increased the general joy, that the independence of the Hawaiian Islands had been recognized by England and France. As a final act to that eventful rejoicing, an endeavour was made to take advantage of it to reconcile all conflicting parties in the kingdom.

It is a peculiarity with the Hawaiians, that in all the events in which our own country has been concerned with them, they look to England with gratitude and love. They have had to bear from us at times some wrongs, and some of the arrogance of a superior people. But they possess the happy temperament of being able to forget a wound given, and bless the hand—the same which stabbed—that binds up the wound. Thankfulness for the restoration of their country immediately succeeded and supplanted any feelings of resentment;

and among the most honoured names in the roll of their remembrance, stands that of the late Admiral Thomas. Lord George Paulet was a courteous but firm Englishman, who carried out with an unhesitating decision the duty which seemed to lie before him. Towards him the people did not seem to cherish any anger, and their joy at the restoration of their islands has taken the form of a perennial gratitude to the English officer who was the instrument of that act of justice. Admiral Thomas's day is one of three yearly celebrations kept at Hawaii, and on that day the most distant consular agents of the kingdom are required to hoist the national flag. This grateful feeling follows him beyond the grave, and seeks to express itself to his descendants. There is an unusual simplicity in all this, very startling in our days of complex motives and restrained sentiments. We scarcely know whether to smile or to blush at the lesson afforded us, and we are inclined to repeat the words of the great reflective poet:—

'I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds
With coldness still returning;—
Alas! the *gratitude* of men
Hath oftener left me mourning.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY—THE BELGIAN CONTRACT.

THE scene now shifts to Europe, whither the principal actors in our history have simultaneously betaken themselves. Thither has gone, burning with anger, the English Consul, Mr. Charlton,—to be finally extinguished. There, too, has gone Mr. Brinsmade, the United States Consul, upon important business to be mentioned hereafter, about which he laboured long and with the most perfect unsuccess. Thither have gone, though by different routes, the ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary, viz., Sir George Simpson, Governor of Hudson's Bay, viâ Siberia, and Mr. Richards, the ex-missionary, and Haalilio, a chief of inferior rank, and late secretary to the King, viâ United States. Thither also has gone Mr. A. Simpson, late acting English consul; to carry news to the English government of the cession of the islands, and to find his news already known, and himself as coldly received as the messenger who brought the tidings of Saul's death to David. Lastly, thither had gone Mr. J. F. B. Marshall, charged with secret instructions from the King, to act as a corrective to Mr. Simpson in England, the latter travelling with him in perfect innocence of his mission,—as quietly

as the acid and the alkaline powders rest side by side in a seidlitz-powder box, though so antagonistic in their nature, and so ready to fizz when finally brought into contact. Simpson was doomed 'to find, too late, that men betray,'—particularly American citizens. He says in his pamphlet—

> A Mr. Marshall, an American shopkeeper at the islands, by a *ruse de guerre* of Judd and the American consul, got a passage in the schooner sent to convey me to Western Mexico. He spread abroad the news as he passed through the States—where it excited intense attention; and on his arrival in England, entered, in conjunction with Richards and Haalilio, into communication with the Foreign Office.

The first business of Richards and Haalilio was at Washington. There, after some negotiation, though no declaration of independence was at that time obtained, the President, in a message to Congress on the 31st December, 1842, used language respecting the Hawaiian Islands which was considerate enough, and coupled with the appointment of a commissioner to reside at the court of Hawaii, was taken to be tantamount to a formal recognition. The commissioner despatched to Honolulu was Mr. George Brown. The envoys arrived in London in February 1843, and being joined by Sir George Simpson, had an interview with the Earl of Aberdeen, who was at first unfavourable to the idea of formally recognising the independence of the islands, believing them to be too greatly under American influence. On the 8th of March the envoys went to Belgium, on their way to Paris. They saw King Leopold, who pledged his influence to aid the object of their mission. On the 17th they had an interview with M. Guizot, who received them with marked courtesy, and promptly gave a pledge to acknowledge

the independence of the islands. The different impression made on the observant native chief Haalilio by the two diplomatists is striking and amusing. 'When we went to Lord Aberdeen,' he said, 'he was very grave and angry-looking; but he gave us all we wanted: when we went to Monsieur Guizot, he was very polite and friendly, but would give us no satisfaction.'

Returning to London, the commissioners received, on the 25th of February, in an interview with Lord Aberdeen, the assurance that the independence of the islands would be virtually or really acknowledged, and that Mr. Charlton would be removed; and on the 1st of April his lordship formally communicated to them the willingness of the English government, and its determination, to recognise the independence of the Sandwich Islands under their present sovereign; adding that Her Majesty's government desired no special favour or immunity for British subjects, but on the contrary wished to see all foreigners residing in the Sandwich Islands treated on a footing of perfect equality before the law, and equal protection afforded by the government to all.

Shortly after this satisfactory decision of the English government, the news was received of the provisional cession of the group to Lord George Paulet. The same intelligence had already been made known in the United States by Mr. Marshall, 'where,' says Mr. Jarves, 'added to other causes tending to influence the national mind against England, it created a prodigious excitement.' The newspapers wrote sensation articles upon English rapacity, and stump-orators worked up the English captain's act into excellent political capital.

On the 13th of June Messieurs Haalilio and Richards were informed that the English government had no desire to retain possession of the Sandwich Islands;

and this decision was communicated to Paris and to Washington. At the latter place, our minister informed the President that the seizure 'was an act entirely unauthorized by Her Majesty's government;' and Mr. Fox explained, at the same time, that his government had during the past year instructed the English Consul and the naval officers on the Pacific station to treat the native rulers of the Sandwich Islands upon all occasions with forbearance and courtesy, and to avoid interfering harshly or unnecessarily with their laws and government. He disclaimed on the part of England any desire to make the Hawaiians feel their dependence on foreign powers, or to establish for itself any paramount influence in the islands at the expense of that enjoyed by other foreign powers. All that was sought was that other powers should not exercise, there, a greater influence than that possessed by Great Britain.*

* The following letter from Lord Canning to the late Lord Herbert, has been communicated to me by Mr. J. Pinhorn, R.N., secretary to Admiral Thomas, Commander-in-chief of H.B.M.'s Naval Forces in the Pacific:—

'Foreign Office, June 13, 1844.

'Sir,

'I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, enclosing copies of Rear-Admiral Thomas's correspondence with the Admiralty, dated the 17th of February, from the Sandwich Islands; and I am to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Her Majesty's Government have received with the highest satisfaction, *the whole* of Admiral Thomas's proceedings at the Sandwich Islands, as marked by great propriety and admirable judgment throughout, and as calculated to raise the character of the British authorities for justice, moderation, and courtesy of demeanour, in the estimation of the natives of those remote countries, *and of the world.*

'I am, &c.,

(Signed) 'CANNING.

'To the

'Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P.,

'Secretary, Admiralty.'

Subsequently, the claims made against the Hawaiian government for money compensation, contained in Lord George Paulet's second paper of demands, were gone into at the Foreign Office, and were equitably disposed of. A claim by the envoys for indemnification to the Hawaiian government for damnification by the acts of Lord George was disallowed, on the ground of the spontaneity of the cession made by the King. On the 28th of November the English and French governments united in a joint declaration of the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, in the following terms:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an Independent State, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of Protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.

The undersigned, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of the French at the Court of London, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence, that their Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done in duplicate, at London, the 28th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1843.

(Signed) Aberdeen (L.S.)
St. Aulaire (L.S.)

Thus, the Hawaiian kingdom was admitted into the brotherhood of civilised nations. The following spring the envoys returned to the United States, and on the

6th of July, 1844, they received from Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of State, a 'full recognition, on the part of the United States, of the independence of the Hawaiian government.'

Their mission successfully fulfilled, the two commissioners sailed from Boston for Honolulu. Mr. Richards reached the islands alone, his coadjutor Haalilio having died at sea on the 3rd of December.* In February 1844 Consul-General Miller arrived at his post. He brought with him a convention drawn up in London, requiring the admission of ardent spirits into the islands, the limitation of duties to five per cent. ad valorem, and some regulations about juries in criminal cases in which foreigners were concerned. As these conditions were a restriction on the King's prerogatives, he gave a very unwilling assent to them. In March the same year, Mr. Ricord was appointed Attorney-General to the kingdom; and the year following, Mr. Wyllie, a friend of the late General Miller's, and who during a visit to the Hawaiian Islands had become favourably known to the King, chiefs, and the foreigners resident at Honolulu, was invited by His Majesty to fill the post of Minister of Foreign Relations. The appointment was one which would tend to upset the theory of Mr. Alexander Bain; as here, undoubtedly, the right man was put into the right place, contrary to that writer's experience. For twenty years Mr. Wyllie devoted his energies and the powers of an enlightened understanding to the service of the King and the nation he adopted—for all government officers are required to become naturalised Hawaiians. Would that he had

* In my own short personal intercourse with this chief, I was struck by his intelligence and the gentleness of his manner.

lived longer, to aid the nation in its councils and to promote its prosperity!

M. Dudoit had been appointed Consul for France, and his respectful conduct towards the King and his government, and his tact in the management of his office, won for him the friendship and esteem of all classes. The Roman Catholic clergy ceased to complain, 'and formally professed themselves gratified with the entire toleration of religious beliefs that prevailed, and the perfect impartiality of government. This was high praise from the priests of Rome to a Protestant government.'* In July 1844 Mr. James Jackson Jarves, an American citizen, was appointed director of the government Press, and editor of the 'Polynesian,' the organ of government. The office was held by this gentleman for about two years, and the power of access it gave him to national archives and to public men, greatly enabled him to collect materials for additions to his very able and diligent history of the Hawaiian Islands first published in 1843, in a third edition dated Honolulu 1847, and to which the present volume is largely indebted.

We have once more to return to Europe, where one of our *dramatis personæ* is wandering. This is Mr. Brinsmade, the American commercial agent or Consul already mentioned. The house of Ladd and Co., of which he was a partner, had obtained concessions and privileges in the islands of considerable value. It has been mentioned that when they commenced business they put out the platform that their firm was to be 'a pattern card of mercantile morality' and was to be conducted on 'purely religious principles.' They had the support, accordingly, of the missionary party, and

* Jarves' History.

had great advantages with a government which was in a highly missionarized state; but in spite of advantages, concessions, and immunities, the house gradually became insolvent, and in the year 1845 it was indebted to the government $21,000, and to other creditors $140,000. The state of its affairs being critical in 1841, though its position was at that time unknown, except probably by one member of government, Mr. Brinsmade started for Europe, carrying with him blank powers for the sale of land, and an extensive contract for grants and leases under certain conditions entered into by the King with the house of Ladd and Co. Brinsmade's object was to sell their private privileges and grants, under a proposal for getting up a great joint-stock company in Europe, of which humanity and brotherly kindness were still to be polar stars, and the main object of which was to be 'the development of the resources of the islands.' The development of the resources of India by our own nation has shown that, in the process, it may happen that the country being developed passes into the possession of those most anxious for its good and its prosperity; and the same danger threatened the Hawaiian kingdom during the progress of 'The Belgian Contract.' For these islands, from their weakness, their loneliness of situation, and their desirableness, have been for many years past in the condition of the flying-fish, which springs out of the wave to avoid a shark, and then back into the water to escape from an albatross. An escapement has ever been an important part of the Hawaiian movement. Happily for the independence of the islands Mr. Brinsmade was bound at the outset with a provision that 'unless the governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands

government, and accord to it all the rights, powers, and privileges and immunities of an independent State,' the contract of which he was bearer was to be null and void. Thus philanthropic feelings, which might have sold up the independence of the islands to a foreign nation in order to develope their resources, were kept in check by political engagements, and one of the most complete and minutely organised schemes ever put on paper happily fell to the ground.

Haalilio and Mr. Richards, whose primary mission was to obtain a declaration of independence, were concerned also in this great trading scheme. The latter bore with him the most plenary power of attorney from the King, giving him permission to sign for His Majesty, and affix the seal of State, with which he was intrusted. He could also 'revoke, reclaim, nullify, and render void any and every power and document heretofore given under the King's hand,' &c. &c. In fact, the man who began life as a peripatetic trader in the United States, who had continued it as a missionary in the Pacific, and had passed through the stages of legislator and minister, was now, in Europe, carrying about with him the powers of a Pope, and had in his trowsers pocket the fate of a kingdom.

The scheme embodied in the Belgian contract was unquestionably the work of a man of genius. Brinsmade had energy and talent, and in the support he had afforded the native government in 1837, by his forcible writing on the subject of the Roman Catholic priests, he had deserved and won its gratitude. His scheme, too, was very plausible; for though its effect would have been to have bound the Hawaiian government hand and foot, and to have conveyed away the fee simple of the islands piecemeal to foreigners, the

words 'civilisation' and 'independence' were never forgotten or omitted in documents, or in speaking.*

The contract was drawn up in Brussels, and bore date the 17th of May, 1843. It contained three chapters, subdivided into thirty-three articles; and the 'Statutes of the Royal Community of the Sandwich Islands' were conceived in fifty-three articles; the whole being formalized in the strictest notarial manner. The foundation of the matter was the concession to the house of Ladd and Co. in 1841. It was really a gigantic sale of Ladd and Co.'s property, involving all concessions and privileges obtained by them, the price for which, taken in the contract, was $1,067,000, or 42,680*l.* The manner of proceeding was, the transfer by Brinsmade of all property material and immaterial which he had power to pass, together with rights and concessions over which Mr. Richards had power, to the Belgian Company of Colonization. The contract or treaty was tripartite, the three parties to it being the King of Hawaii, represented by Haalilio and Richards; the house of Ladd and Co., acting by Brinsmade; and the Belgian Company of Colonization, by its deputies, the Count of Hompesch and M. Joseph Vanderburghen de Binckum. The Colonization Company was only instrumental in this transaction. Its office was to organize the 'Royal Community of the Sandwich Islands,' and to transfer to that society, when formed, the property, rights, and titles which it was to possess. The community was, however, on its European side, to remain under 'the patronage and high administration of the Belgian

* I have a vivid recollection, in Mr. Brinsmade's intercourse with myself upon this and other subjects connected with the islands, how fluently such phrases as 'the development of the resources of the islands' always glided from his lips.

Company of Colonization; whilst in the scene of its activity, it would be under the patronage and protection of the Hawaiian king. Four interests were to be created in the undertaking, namely, the King of Hawaii; the Belgian Colonization Company; the Labourers and Employés; and the Stockholders. The King was to be a partner, Mr. Richards to be president. Its objects were, beyond relieving Ladd and Co. of their real and doubtful possessions at an enormous price, to create an emigration to the Sandwich Islands from Europe, and, in the lubricated language of the 9th article of the contract, 'to develope as promptly as possible the civilization and resources of the Sandwich Islands, by creating agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial establishments, and by instituting commercial relations between these islands and Belgium.' To carry out such desirable objects, a capital was to be raised, of which the first subscription was to consist of 4,000 shares of 1,000 francs each, or 4,000,000 francs. The property acquired by the Belgian Colonization Company was to be divided into 500 titles, 100 of which were to be given to the King of Hawaii, so that His Majesty would still possess a share of his own country. By the 28th article, 'all persons, of whatever profession in the service of the community, and introduced into the islands under the auspices of the community, with the approbation of the King of the Sandwich Islands, shall receive in fee simple twenty hectares of land.' By the 27th article, 100 titles were set apart to support schools for the children of the labourers, a health establishment, an orphanage, and pensions for impotent and superannuated employés. It would be tedious to enter into further details of the complicated machinery of the design; the effect of which, had it actually become operative, would have

been to have destroyed the independence of the islands and to have gradually vested all property in them in the proprietary of the Belgian Company.

Fortunately for the people of Hawaii, this new South Sea scheme never went into operation. The first blow which fell on its promoters was the news of Lord George Paulet's occupation of the islands; then came the corroding tooth of delay, and after dragging on till October 1844, a new suggestion was made by some merchants in Ghent, to reconstruct the plan 'as a purely commercial company.' Nothing, however, came of the last proposition; and even Brinsmade's energetic nature began to feel the depressing influences of the failure of magnificent plans, which at one time seemed so nearly arrived at fruition. Mr. Richards now withdrew from all connection with the futile monopoly, having previously left Europe for America; but before leaving, he and Haalilio, as the King's commissioners, had given their consent to the sale and contract, but the latter did so with great reluctance. Brinsmade then turned his thoughts, as he did his steps, towards London, where he stayed some time, endeavouring to enlist the aid of Sir George Simpson in getting up a joint-stock company; but plans and arguments had now assumed too dream-like a character, and Sir George wisely declined taking any active part in the matter. Lastly, the very means of living and moving in Europe dried up, and the sanguine, intelligent schemer, vanishes from our continent. So ended the immediate danger to the independence of the islands; but not to after-troubles arising out of the ruined hopes and house of Ladd and Co., in Honolulu. The firm was insolvent: the government had afforded it assistance to the extent of its power, with the endeavour to uphold its credit and existence,

as it was still a tradition or a superstition, that in some way Ladd and Co. were pillars of church and state, and that on them, as on a foundation stone, rested the religion, honour, civilization of Hawaii, and, of course, the development of her national resources. Notwithstanding that one partner, Brinsmade, had been dealing with and signing away to the contractors all the property the house possessed in the islands, the partners out there mortgaged it largely to creditors. In November 1844, at the time of Brinsmade's expiring efforts in England, the Hawaiian government, consulting, however, the ruined firm, levied on the property of Ladd and Co.: their store was closed by the sheriff, and their stock, leases, &c., were sold for the benefit of their judgment creditors. From these proceedings originated tedious law-suits, mixed with threats and bluster from one of the partners of the house. The government had made large advances, and now a claim was set up against it for the sum of $378,000 for alleged illegal acts done by it in the matter of the sale, and in preventing the completion of the Belgian contract. Mr. Brinsmade having returned to the islands in 1846, the King consented that the claim set up against his government should be referred to the arbitration of two American residents, and in case of their disagreement, to the decision of Commodore Stockton, commanding the U.S. naval force in the Pacific, and who was expected to arrive shortly at Honolulu: failing him, the chief justice of the state of New York to be final umpire. The United States government had sent as their commissioner to the islands, Mr. Anthony Ten Eyck, an experienced lawyer, and he acted as counsel for Ladd and Co. in the arbitration, Mr. Ricord appearing for the King. Examination of witnesses, books,

&c., consumed many months, and government gave its opponents free access to the archives of the kingdom for all documents and information they required to support their case. Seven hundred printed pages of record were adduced. An attempt was made to compromise the matter, but was unsuccessful. The government was willing to cause the protracted strife to cease, and would have accepted terms by which Ladd and Co.'s property and liabilities should have been assumed by government, and thereby a dividend be secured to all the creditors; but so much acrimonious feeling, personal and political, had been imported into the proceedings as shut the door to amicable arrangement, and occasionally led to great loss of temper in the counsel on both sides, during their contention before the Arbitrators' Court. The suit continued till the end of the year 1846, and was pursued with much bitterness against the government. And amongst the other items of claim, a demand was set up by Ladd and Co. against Mr. Jarves, editor of the 'Polynesian,' for $50,000 for injury done to the character of Mr. Brinsmade by some short remarks in the government newspaper, and which Mr. Brinsmade called libellous. On the 29th of December, the French consul, M. Dudoit, offered his mediation in an endeavour to terminate this protracted suit amicably, and the offer was accepted by both the weary litigants: the attempted arrangement, however, fell through, and the unsettled questions are hybernating, probably to bud and burgeon again at some future season.

## CHAPTER XX.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—THE TREATIES OF COMMERCE AND FRIENDSHIP—AND CONSEQUENT HOSTILITIES.

SEVERAL treaties have been negotiated between the Hawaiian and foreign governments.

The first agreement in order of time, approaching at all to a treaty obligation, was made on the 23rd of December, 1826, by Captain Ap Catesby Jones, on behalf of the United States of America, on the occasion of his interference in settling some claims made by American citizens upon the Hawaiian government. Captain Jones endeavoured to provide some available means for settling any future differences, and to prevent their recurrence.

The next written document of the kind was a short treaty effected by Captain Lord Edward Russell, on the 16th of November, 1836, when engaged in arranging some old disputes between his countrymen and the native authorities. His intention was to avoid future disputes, and to promote amity between the subjects of the two nations.

In 1837, Captain Du Petit Thouars negotiated the treaty of 'perpetual peace and amity' already given in an earlier part of this volume. It introduced the 'most

favoured nation clause,' but did not allude specifically to brandy or bishops.

The two latter subjects were sufficiently considered in the treaty which Captain Laplace procured in July 1839. Having established a position for the Roman Catholic clergy, the two following articles were framed.

Art. IV. No Frenchman accused of any crime whatever shall be judged otherwise than by a jury composed of foreign residents proposed by the Consul of France and accepted by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

Art. VI. French merchandize, or merchandize known to be of French origin, and especially wines and brandies, shall not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than 5 per cent. ad valorem.

The government in giving its constrained consent to these oppressive clauses, fully saw the infringement of its prerogative, but it saw at the same time its own helplessness.

Great Britain having in 1844 restored the islands, which had been conditionally ceded to this country through Lord George Paulet, appointed a Consul-General to reside at the Hawaiian court, and offered a treaty in which the two objectionable articles of Laplace's treaty were copied and had a place. Efforts were immediately made to obtain from the governments of England and France, treaties that should be more just, equal, and reciprocal. The two European governments having by their joint declaration secured the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, concerted together new identical treaties, and they were executed in Honolulu on the 26th of March, 1846. They each contained eight articles. The preamble of both states, —*mutatis mutandis*—that 'It being desirable that a general convention should be substituted for the various

instruments of mutual agreement at present existing between *Great Britain* and the Sandwich Islands, the following articles have for that purpose and to that intent been mutually agreed upon and signed,' &c. &c. The first article propounds perpetual peace and amity between the reciprocating nations. The third article provides for *English* subjects accused of any crime whatever: (the French treaty here makes an important variation,—'*d'un crime ou délit quelconque*'). 'They are to be judged by a jury composed of native or foreign residents, proposed by the Consul of their country, and accepted by the government of the Sandwich Islands.' This stipulation was an advance on the Laplace article in reference to French subjects.

It was the sixth article which proved the cradle of troubles that lasted as long as the siege of Troy, which led to a French invasion, and which have not been entirely disposed of to this day. It reads thus:—

> Goods of France, or those which are recognised as coming from French possessions, shall not be prohibited or subjected to an import duty higher than 5 per cent. ad valorem. Wines, brandies, and spirituous liquors are excepted, and shall be liable to any reasonable duty that the government of the Sandwich Islands considers it fit to impose; but on condition that such duty shall never be so high as to become an absolute prevention to the importation of the said articles.

The clause from the French treaty is here substituted for the corresponding English article, because the small imports from France have consisted almost entirely of wines and spirits, whilst England is indifferent about this kind of merchandize.

The identical treaties were ratified by Queen Victoria on the 8th of October, 1846, and by King Louis Philippe on the 18th of November, the same year.

In the autumn of 1846 the Danish frigate 'Galathea,' commanded by Captain Steen Bille, in circumnavigating the globe, under large powers from his government, called at the Sandwich Islands. Having during some weeks' stay there informed himself of their condition, Captain Steen Bille offered an honourable and beneficial treaty. This was the first perfectly satisfactory compact entered into by a foreign nation with the Hawaiian kingdom: and whilst it contained all necessary stipulations for a free and advantageous intercourse, it did not trammel the island government with oppressive clauses or ambiguous expressions which an ambidexter might afterwards turn to any use he desired. The Hawaiian government have always regarded this treaty with pleasure and gratitude, as the initial and model of other equitable mutual obligations.

The Danish treaty was first followed by a treaty in almost identical words with the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg, dated the 8th of January, 1848.

In August 1851, a similar treaty was negotiated with the free Hanseatic city of Bremen.

Previous in time to the last treaty, the long-desired convention with the United States was carried out. It is styled 'a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation;' and after a preamble profuse in expressions of mutual admiration and love, it agrees upon seventeen articles, stated in the most ample language, affording a strong contrast to the treaties hitherto mentioned. It is dated, Washington, the 20th of December, 1849; and ratifications were exchanged in Honolulu, dated the 24th of August, 1850.

On General Miller's appointment as British Consul-General, in 1843, he brought with him to Hawaii the draft of a treaty, known as that of Lahaina. In 1851,

another treaty, drafted in London, was sent to him, very similar to that concluded by the United States. It provides for the mutual reception of national ships of war in all harbours, rivers, and places; restricts import and export duties to the level of the most favoured nation; and provides that the diplomatic agents and consuls of the Hawaiian Islands in the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty shall enjoy whatever privileges, exemptions, and immunities, are or shall be granted there to agents of the same rank belonging to the most favoured nation; with similar enjoyments to the diplomatic and consular agents of Great Britain in the Hawaiian Islands. This treaty is signed on the 10th of July, 1851, and ratifications exchanged on the 6th of May, 1852.

On the 1st of July, 1852, another treaty on the same model was signed in Honolulu, by Captain Virgin, on behalf of 'the King of Sweden and Norway and of the Goths and Vandals.' It was ratified on the 5th of April, 1855. The only alteration of importance in this compact was in the 15th article, in which it is agreed that—

> All vessels bearing the flag of Sweden or of Norway in time of war shall receive every possible protection short of actual hostility (*sic*) within the ports and waters of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands; and His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages to respect in time of war the neutral rights of the Hawaiian kingdom, and to use his good offices with all other powers having treaties with His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, to induce them to adopt the same policy towards the Hawaiian kingdom.

It is easily seen how greatly to the advantage of the smaller kingdom the foregoing clause was.

Between the signing of the Swedish treaty and the new treaty with France, which bears date the 29th of

October, 1857, a train of circumstances occurred which it will now be our duty to unravel and give some account of. They are painful and humiliating. A great and powerful nation, set in motion by and acting through its distant agents, bringing its force to bear on a small and defenceless people who in its hands are but as the mouse which a cat dallies with before giving it a *coup de grace* with its claw, is not a spectacle to be proud of. To know that private feuds and jealousies, private follies and imaginary grievances among governmental and diplomatic officials, led the way to years of real trouble and crises of actual danger to the country in which they occurred, converts the reader's smile of amusement into a frown of impatience and anger. Yet all this was the case. France invaded the territory and the capital of a friendly nation, to vindicate national honour and to protect national interests, when all the while the wrong was to the wounded feelings of her consular agent; and the interests at stake were some difference in rent upon a house the Consul hired near the city. Here was the real Briseis in the Hawaiian Iliad—hence the gloomy estrangement of the Franco-Hibernian Achilles in Polynesia.

It began to be rumoured that the French treaty was not working well; that France was dissatisfied; and that that great nation felt itself oppressed beyond the powers of endurance by certain clauses of the treaty. First there was subject of language. Why was not French to be used in the diplomacy of Hawaii? To exclude its employment was a pointed insult and wrong done to his sovereignty of France. This ought to be altered. French must be used equally and identically with English; and all French documents must be read, and answers returned to them in the French language, in

precisely the same time required for reading and writing in English. The '*Pourquoi non*' argument is one difficult to answer; but a similar right might as well have been claimed on behalf of the Sanskrit, or for the unknown tongue.

The second grievance was, of course, relative to brandy. In the interests of sufficient drinking it was asked, why the government should set their face against regulated intemperance. Unless a moderate intoxication was allowed, how were French interests to be protected? The whole thing was certainly a sham. Abstinence pledges and Dash-away associations were abominations about whose origin we will not enquire, but were certainly directed entirely against the Vignerolles of sunny France.

There were a few subsidiary grounds of quarrel selected, which, like the pleas in a brief after the two first, we hastily read, but do not dwell upon or plead. Such were the management of Roman Catholic schools; impertinent difficulties thrown in the way of the virtuous intercourse between French seamen and Hawaiian females, and a few others; but the battle-field chosen was language and brandy.

A community too small to admit of defined political parties, in which personal antipathies can range themselves on opposite sides, is capable of no more than individual hatred, or, at most, of some irascible cliques. Political virulence is an advantage denied to a very confined society. The state of parties in Honolulu must be judged of as being under these circumstances.

The beginning and course of the quarrel, plainly told, are as follow:—An uncomfortable state of feeling had sprung up within the ministry. Dr. Judd considered that by his patronage Mr. Wyllie was helped into office, and

now growing jealous of his protégé, he would willingly have assisted him to vacate his post. Mr. Dillon, an Irishman by parentage, but born in France, had replaced M. Dudoit as French Consul. Mr. Wyllie having been a friend of Dudoit's, was, by a sort of necessary antithesis, disliked by his successor in the consulate. To the immediate antipathy which Mr. Dillon felt towards the foreign minister, he added a national jealousy of English influence. With these mixed feelings he composed a remarkable letter addressed to Dr. Judd, dated the 11th of August, 1848, and which was afterwards produced to the privy council and printed. In this letter are found many sarcastic and disparaging remarks on Mr. Wyllie, who, as Dillon suggested, was endeavouring to undermine Dr. Judd, and uproot American influence around the King; and what was perhaps still worse for all parties, Mr. Wyllie was misrepresenting everything said and written by Dillon, 'as in the case of the ratification of the French treaty;' he was conspiring against Dillon personally; and had 'joined with Dudoit in organising dark and foolish intrigues both in London and Paris to the advantage of the latter.' Upon these and other grounds, among which the rent and furniture of a house are obscurely mixed, Mr. Dillon makes the proposal to Dr. Judd to murder (politically) Mr. Wyllie. And the text which is to justify this proposition is a French proverb which says, 'When the devil attempts to kill you, be beforehand with him, and kill the devil, —if you can.' Mr. Dillon is a diplomatist and a philosopher. He 'knows what state necessities are, and what a diversity of tricks and courses men in office, even the purest, may stumble into. He is, therefore, full of indulgence.' But he wishes to disabuse Dr. Judd of one erroneous impression, viz., 'that the Sandwich

Islands are a kind of little plum-pudding which France is anxious to stick her fork into, and that he (Dillon), is the destined instrument of this carving.'

Now, letters of this kind are dangerous. They were particularly so in the case we are narrating; for in the first place, the communication fell into the hands of Mr. Wyllie himself, and it did not tend to improve the writer's place in his estimation; and, secondly, it failed to convert Dr. Judd into the conspirator which was intended, but had another effect, that of making him most hungry to know what machinations were being plotted against himself; so that the letter, missing its mark, was like a narcotic, which, if it fail to produce sleep, makes the patient doubly restless.

Dr. Judd, eager to make discoveries in the cabal, directed, as he puts it, against the government (for as he considered himself inseparable from government, any wrong to himself was an injury to the powers that be), —committed the serious indiscretion of bribing one Peacock, a printer, to abstract some MSS. from the office of the newspaper in opposition to the native government. The act was more detestable than a crime, it was a blunder. It immediately placed all the foreign representatives in arms; they entered their protest to the King against the unscrupulous minister of finance, and proceeded to a step opposed to all international propriety, that of advising the King to dismiss his ministers.

To Mr. Dillon the time seemed now arrived for finding and working a French grievance; and the two clauses in the late treaty, those which concerned language and spirits appeared the proper materials for a quarrel, and, if necessary, a *casus belli*.

The quarrel prospered to a wish. Ill-will grew up vigorously. Mr. Wyllie and Mr. Dillon darted their

goose-quill javelins at one another, till each adversary was brought to the last degree of irritation; and at last the epoch arrived for invoking French interference. Accordingly in August 1849, Admiral de Tromelin arrived off Honolulu, in the French steam corvette 'Gassendi.' Another blunder was committed. The Admiral requested an audience of the King, which was unwisely refused; and the former landed his forces, took, and occupied the fort, locked, and placed guards before the public offices, doing a great deal of damage during these proceedings, and carried off the royal yacht. One act of triumph he could not, however, accomplish. The Hawaiian national colours waved high above the fort; and as no native could be induced to lower them, the standard of the vanquished, 'like a tall bully, reared its head and lied,' above the occupying conquerors.

The few words which have been hitherto spoken about the French Roman Catholic missionaries, were generally those of approbation. Some political crookednesses were swallowed up in their earnest and self-denying labours among the ignorant and poor people. The same tone cannot be continued in relation to the part the mission took in this humiliating struggle. They greatly abetted Mr. Dillon in the concoction of his charges against the government of unfair dealing towards France; and the jealousy which they had cherished in secret about school-management now gave evidence of its intensity and of its unreasonableness.

Towards a solution of the pending difficulties, a conference on board the 'Gassendi' was proposed. The King appointed for his commissioners the offending Dr. Judd, and Chief Justice Lee; Mr. Hopkins attending as secretary. On the Admiral's part were the French Consul, Mr. Dillon, M. Jam, commander of the

frigate 'Poursuivant,' and the Admiral's secretary, M. Erguieo. A report of what took place on that memorable occasion has been printed at length. On the French side the tone of *de haut en bas* prevailed generally; and diplomatic amenities were not always regarded. Thus Admiral Tromelin says on one occasion, 'I should be considered an officer that had no firmness, if I return without having settled the matter. I must have either a pleasant arrangement, or else put this country at war with France.' Upon which Mr. Dillon courteously remarks, 'You must remember that we, and French officers in general, are not picked up in a field and sent off at once as ambassadors; we have a known character, and higher powers.' The Admiral continues, 'If you refuse to alter the treaty in regard to brandy, we cannot go into any discussion on the point.'*

The proposal which the commissioners had to make was that the treaty disputes should be referred to France, to be settled with a commissioner sent from Hawaii; an umpire to be chosen if the referees could not come to an understanding. This proposal was refused for some time, but at the end of the conference something of the kind was agreed upon; and in conclusion the King's commissioners placed in the Admiral's hands a document to the following effect:—

> The King is perfectly willing to fully fulfil and execute the treaty of the 26th of March, 1846, according to the interpretation which the two nations who jointly proposed it may jointly agree to give it, in all its parts; but without prejudice to the new treaty that His Majesty's special plenipotentiary may negotiate with France, the United States, and Great

* Appendix to Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations, p. 85.

Britain, placing the three nations upon a footing of exact equality, in all respects.

(Signed) G. P. Judd.
Wm. L. Lee.
Charles G. Hopkins, Secretary.*

The French invasion was thus terminated. It is a matter almost of certainty that the unhappy situation just described would never have been brought about had Mr. Perrin, who concluded the treaty of the 26th March, 1846, been sent out instead of Mr. Dillon in 1847. Mr. Perrin on leaving Hawaii proceeded to Tahiti, and thence to Paris; and he had with him sufficient documents for elucidating his own treaty, and for explaining and amending those points in it which proved such unjust restrictions on the free actions and rights of the Hawaiian government. Unfortunately Mr. Dillon was accredited as Consul of France, and his particular temperament and egotism led the way to all the mischief. It is proper to add that the difficulties were much increased, and ill-will greatly fomented by the violent part taken by the total-abstinence party in the islands.

The reference of the disputed treaty to Paris, had for its fruit a project for a new convention: and Mr. Perrin was empowered in September 1852 by the Prince President of the French Republic to proceed to Honolulu as plenipotentiary, consul, and commissioner, to negotiate a new treaty with Hawaii. Nothing can be more conciliatory than the preamble of the Power, in which the motive of the new compact was stated to be the desire 'to draw closer and closer the relations of friendship between France and the Hawaiian government, and to regulate the commercial intercourse

* Appendix, p. 100.

established between the two countries.' The new treaty with Great Britain had already been concluded,—10th of July, 1851; and also that with the United States in 1850. The way was thus paved for a more enlarged and considerate dealing with the distant and defenceless people who were anxious to be on good terms with their great and sometimes crotchety neighbours.

It was not till July 1855 that preliminaries were arranged for negotiating this new treaty. The King empowered Mr. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, in connection with Mr. Allen, Minister of Finance, to act in his behalf in this important and protracted affair. The treaty itself bears date the 29th of October, 1857, and is signed by Mr. Wyllie, Mr. Perrin, and by Prince Kaméhaméha, in the place of Mr. Allen. It contains twenty-seven articles, and was the result of twenty-two lengthened conferences. The Hawaiian commissioners fought hard against those articles which infringed on the King's dignity, or encroached on national freedom; and the final inducement with them to sign a document which they did not like in many of its stipulations, was the agreement for an additional secret article, *ad referendum*, which would keep the door open for emendations and ameliorations. Besides which, the promise of Mr. Perrin had great weight. He engaged that he would support in Paris the scheme for a general political treaty with all nations, to be negotiated there under the auspices of the Emperor. From that engagement, however, Mr. Perrin, after the ratification of the treaty, receded. He would probably have had little weight in Paris—still less with Europe.

The treaty on completion was referred to the Privy Council, who reported on it to the King unfavourably. They objected, first and generally, because 'several of its

provisions were of a character derogatory to the King's dignity and rightful authority as the constitutional sovereign of an independent state, and as interfering with the undoubted right of free legislation which belongs alike to every independent nation, whether great or small.' The council then proceeded through its provisions in detail, stumbling *in limine* over that awkward stone, the official use of the French language. Next came the 10th article, limiting the amount of duties on wines and spirits. They could not fail to see the uselessness of restrictions which would not affect France, because France was scarcely bringing any goods to Hawaii, whilst they affected very greatly the freedom of government in dealing with questions of excise, revenue, and internal police. In the fifteen years from 1845 to 1859 inclusive, the total imports from all parts of the world have been $14,800,000 in value; of which the goods from French ports direct were less in amount than $72,000, i.e., less than one-half per cent. of the whole! And in the three years 1857, 1858, 1859, the importations from direct French ports were nothing!

The council remarked on the want of reciprocity in the article relating to rights and privileges of residence, commerce, and navigation; on the subject of administration of intestate estates; on the loss of jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters concerning the captains and crews of French vessels in Hawaiian ports and waters. They objected to it on the ground that the treaty rendered necessary the repeal or modification of many existing laws; also on the ground of the expense and loss of revenue involved in some of its provisions; the article of French translation being estimated to necessitate a cost of $5,000 or $6,000 per annum; on the subject of exemption of consuls and the whole consular

staff from appearing as witnesses in courts of justice. They objected to the treaty, because its provisions were so numerous and complicated, and its language in several places so dubious as not to be easily understood, &c. &c. And finally the council objected that the treaty did not accord with the letter and spirit of the powers granted by the King to his plenipotentiaries. They therefore respectfully, in the discharge of their duties, advised His Majesty not to ratify the treaty.

This document was signed by three native and two naturalized foreign Privy Councillors, the first signature being that of Governor Kekuanaoa, the King's father.

A serious difficulty had arisen. The labours of more than two years were rendered nugatory, and the treaty was wrecked on the bar of its port. Throughout the conferences, it is plain, the King's commissioners had been making a fighting retreat; they had used and exhausted every argument, and but seldom gained a substantial advantage. *How* exhaustive Mr. Wyllie's reasoning was, and how ample his illustration, is seen in his fence about the French language. A memorandum prepared by him 'for so much of the discussion in 1855, with Mr. Perrin, as relates to parity of the French with the English language,' commences thus:—

'The original language spoken by Adam and the prediluvian race of man, if not the post-diluvian Hebrew, has disappeared. So have the languages of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Chaldees, Persians, and even of the Romans and the Greeks.'

If ancient precedents would have touched the French diplomatist's heart, or moved him from his steady purpose, here he surely should have given way:—but it is

evident that, the production of the grammar of the Proselenes would have been disregarded by that impassive negotiator.

More preliminaries to final Protocols, more letters, more opportunities for expressing the high consideration, &c., a little, almost imperceptible, pressure of the screw, the political threat expressed in the most oblique manner, a little more retreating done, *à la mode* of the Parthian horsemen, who 'wound us as they fly,' some reference, if we mistake not, to King David's messengers, whom Hanum the son of Nahash treated so ignominiously in respect to their beards and their clothing;—finally, the sop of a secret article, and the thing was accomplished. The treaty was ratified on the 7th September, 1858: but still *ad referendum*, as to the additional article. What has taken place since, what is taking place still, is not yet ripe for history. Suffice it to say, that the additional secret article was not ratified in Paris, and that the import duties stand at the present day and for ten years after the date of this treaty, as follows:—For low-class French wines known by the name of '*vins de cargaison*,' a maximum duty of 5 per cent. ad valorem on invoice cost; for wines of less than 18 per cent. alcoholic strength, the maximum duty of 15 per cent. ad valorem. Duty on brandy not to exceed three dollars per gallon.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH—REIGN OF KAMÉHAMÉHA IV.

THE decline of missionary influence in the Hawaiian government constitutes the opening of a new era in its history. Still leaning on foreign support, both in the legislative and administrative capacities, the nation has escaped the leading-strings in which it was long held by American teachers of religion, who became amateur law-makers and constitution-manufacturers. Acting from the same instincts which led Russia to draw to its court the talent of more advanced nations and to use it in all departments, the Hawaiian Cabinet is composed of British, American, and native elements; and naturalized subjects from England and the United States take their part in the Houses of Nobles and Representatives. From exclusive missionary influence the Hawaiian nation has escaped: the influence now exercised upon it has probably a useful and corrective function.

In the year 1850, during the reign of Kaméhaméha III., Prince Alexander Liholiho, whom the King had adopted and appointed for his successor, accompanied by his brother, Prince Kaméhaméha, with Dr. Judd for Mentor, visited Europe. During their short visit they were introduced to the late deeply-lamented Prince Consort; in the drawing-room of the Duchess of Suther-

KAMEHAMEHA IV.

land they had glimpses of the highest English society; and in Paris they received flattering attentions. As those gems which have basked in the effulgence of a tropical sun are said, afterwards, in colder climates and in darkness, to emit rays of that imprisoned light, the impressions received in Europe appear to have been sealed indelibly on the Prince's nature, and to have tinged the whole tenour of thought and aim of this pair of royal brothers in their after-life. In returning to their country through the United States, an insulting slight, received in public, produced an opposite but as ineffaceable effect upon their minds.

In May 1847 the King announced to his legislature that through Captain Steen Bille he had made a treaty with the King of Denmark. This was important as being the first regular treaty of friendship and commerce negotiated between the Hawaiian kingdom and other governments, and it was followed by other treaties which have been enumerated in the preceding chapter. The King in the same speech informed the houses that such relations as subsisted with other nations were of the most friendly kind.

In 1848 died Mr. Richards, who has been frequently mentioned. At the time of his death he occupied the position of Minister of Public Instruction. The same year a treaty was concluded with the city of Hamburg.

It being seen that the tenure of land as it existed was very embarrassing, a division of lands was amicably effected between the King and his *konohikis*, and the tenure was much simplified. The King set apart a certain number of lands (estates or domains) to be the property of the chiefs and people, reserving to himself a portion of lands as his own private property, to descend to his heirs in perpetuity.

In August 1849, difficulties arose with the French republic, originating in acts done by French officers at the islands. These troubles have been sufficiently treated of in the previous chapter, and need not again be entered upon. In order to set himself right with the French government, and to arrange the impending question, the King despatched his Minister of Finance, Mr. Judd, as plenipotentiary to Paris. He had, previously to the French quarrel, appointed Mr. Jarves, as special commissioner to the United States, Great Britain, and France, for the purpose of explaining to those governments the impartiality of his foreign policy, and the desirableness of their concurrence in adopting treaties precisely similar, with the Hawaiian kingdom, and of their giving a mutual engagement to respect its neutrality, and to lay down for their agents in the kingdom rules which might prevent jealousies among themselves, insure their respect to the laws, and forbid their secret or open interference with the internal affairs of the country. Mr. Jarves being detained too long in America by some private affairs, and the French aggression having commenced, he was superseded in his mission by Mr. Judd.

The King, in referring to the distribution of lands which was carried out in June 1848, remarks that in surrendering the greater portion of the royal domain to his chiefs and people, the reservation he had made to support the fort and garrison of the capital and for his private use, was in lieu of his right inherited from his predecessors of a share in all the lands of the whole islands. Under the former tenure, all lands, to whomsoever donated, were revocable at will; no man's possession, even that of the highest chief, was secure, and the effect of such a tenure was that no man thought of

improving land, the possession of which was so uncertain. This great bar to improvement was now removed, and to afford still further protection to the poorer people, the King, with his chiefs and privy council concurring, had come to certain resolutions which would give to industrious cultivators of the soil an allodial title to the portions they occupied, and would facilitate the acquisition of land in fee simple, by others inclined to be industrious.

In the same speech, April 10th, 1850, the King, with the object of rendering the people industrious and provident, recommends the institution of a Savings' Bank. He also proposes for the consideration of legislature, the project for a new criminal code, which had been prepared.

About the end of the year 1852, there were grounds for believing that a filibustering expedition was being prepared in California, for the invasion of the islands. The King issued a proclamation on the subject, and claimed the aid of the United States commissioners, and the danger passed by. In allusion to such attempts, the King said: 'It is my anxious desire so to govern my subjects, as that no one can expect to benefit himself by any political change. With that view, I voluntarily and freely granted the constitution of 1840; and I am ready to grant another now, for the good of my people.'

In the last speech the King made, on the assembling of the nobles and representatives, April 8th, 1854, His Majesty began by expressing thanks to the Almighty for 'the cessation of the frightful pestilence which had during part of the past year and of the present, carried to the grave so many thousands of the people, notwithstanding all the efforts made by the government and commissioners of health, aided by the zealous and

gratuitous labours of the resident physicians, surgeons, and other philanthropic individuals.'

The last public document issued under the King's hand, was a proclamation dated the 8th December, 1854, against an annexation attempt and design to overthrow the government. If such a new peril was really imminent, it was by timely action crushed in the bud.

A few days after making this proclamation, the King died, at the age of forty-two, having reigned thirty years. Though not a remarkable man, Kaméhaméha was a man of the people. He was a true Hawaiian in his good qualities, and even in his faults. He was true to Hawaii in every act of his maturer life, after he had escaped those evil influences which surround princes in every nation, and which in his case seemed designed with the diabolical intention of making shipwreck of his body and mind. But love of his country was the guiding-star which enabled him to rise above the waves; and he carried out faithfully every intention of his own, every suggestion of others, when the advantage of Hawaii was concerned. Though assuming his father's name, Kaméhaméha, he was, and is better known in his own country by the first in the list of his formidable appellations. His names in full were Kauikaeouli Kaleiopapa Kuakamanolani, Mahinalani Kalaninui-waiakua, Keaweawealaokalani,—a good specimen of the composite character of the native language. The King's only two children died in his lifetime; and being childless, he adopted as his son and heir, Alexander Liholiho, son of Kinau, daughter of Kaméhaméha I., by Governor Kekuanaoa, and therefore grandson to the conqueror.

In private life, says the obituary, the King was mild, kind, affable, generous, and forgiving—never more happy than when

free from the cares and trappings of State. It is hardly possible to conceive a king more generally beloved than was his late Majesty; more universally obeyed, or more completely sovereign in the essential respect of independent sovereignty, that of governing his subjects free from any influence or control coming from beyond the limits of his own jurisdiction.

Although this passage has a strong smack of the 'Court Newsman' about it, it may be said with certainty, that the King was greatly beloved by his people, and that amidst many difficulties and discouragements, his reign was a good one, and under it the nation made a great advance.

Prince Liholiho was proclaimed king under the name of Kaméhaméha IV., on the 15th of December, 1854. He was then just twenty-one years of age, and came to the throne with more preparation, and under better auspices, than his royal predecessor. 'Chiefs,' said the young King, in his short and manly address to the privy council, 'I have become, by the will of God, your father, as I have been your child. You must help me, for I stand in need of help.'

On the 11th of January, 1855, the King took the oath prescribed by the Constitution, in the following form:

> I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the constitution of the kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity with that and the laws.

He then addressed his subjects in the native tongue. The address was solemn and eloquent, and from its being pronounced in the Hawaiian language, is far more valuable than an English speech prepared by his ministers in English would have been. It is too long for quotation entire, but a few passages may be quoted

from the translation given in the 'Polynesian' of the 13th of January:—

Give ear, Hawaii o Keawe! Maui o Kama! Oahu o Kuihewa! Kauai o Mano!*

The good, the generous, the kind-hearted Kaméhaméha is now no more. Our great chief has fallen! but though dead he still lives. He lives in the hearts of his people! He lives in the liberal, the just, and the beneficent measures which it was always his pleasure to adopt. His monuments rise to greet us on every side. They may be seen in the church, in the school-house, and the hall of justice; in the security of our persons and property; in the peace, the law, the order, and general prosperity that prevail throughout the islands. He was the friend of the Makaainana,† the father of his people; and so long as a Hawaiian lives, his memory will be cherished!

By the death of Kaméhaméha III., the chain that carried us back to the ancient days of Kaméhaméha I. has been broken. He was the last child of that great chieftain: but how unlike the father from whom he sprang! Kaméhaméha I. was born for the age in which he lived, the age of war and of conquest. The age of Kaméhaméha III. was that of progress and of liberty —of schools and civilization. He gave us a constitution and fixed laws; he secured the people in the title to their lands, and removed the last chain of oppression. He gave them a voice in his councils, and in the making of the laws by which they are governed. He was a great national benefactor, and has left the impress of his mild and amiable disposition on the age for which he was born.

To-day we begin a new era. Let it be one of increased civilization—one of decided progress, industry, temperance, morality, and all those virtues which mark a nation's progress. The importance of unity is what I most wish to impress upon your minds. Let us be one, and we shall not fall!

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* It is impossible to render into English this ancient form of invocation to the four principal islands of the group.

† The common people.

In these and the remaining parts of the speech, the translator will no doubt have considerably anglicised the language, and possibly the editor may have improved upon the translator: but that the young King had acquired the habit of thinking in English is apparent, by the impromptu remarks which he addressed in that language to the foreign listeners then present, when it was suggested to him to do so.

Among other things the King said:

I cannot fail to heed the example of my ancestors. I therefore say to the foreigner that he is welcome. He is welcome to our shores—welcome so long as he comes with the laudable motive of promoting his own interests and at the same time respecting those of his neighbour. But if he comes here with no more exalted motive than that of building up his own interests at the expense of the native—to seek our confidence only to betray it—with no higher ambition than that of overthrowing our government, and introducing anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed—then is he most unwelcome!

On the 7th of April the King opened the session of legislature with a speech, longer than that which is heard from the throne of England, but considerably shorter than the message of the President of the United States. The several topics touched on, show the advance which was taking place. The office of *Kuhina Nui*, or Premier, was separated from that of the Ministry of the Interior. To the former post the King appointed his sister, the Princess Victoria Kamamalu. His brother, the Prince Kaméhaméha, occupied the position held by the King before his accession, of Commander in Chief. Mr. Lee, the chief justice and chancellor, had been sent on a mission to the United States, where he attended to some practical matters tending to the improvement of Honolulu, &c. Certain

proposed changes in the department of Public Instruction were to be submitted to legislature; the national finances required to be enlarged; the duties on spirituous liquors to be reconsidered. Attention was to be turned to the state of agriculture, and means taken to procure some approach to equilibrium between imports and exports, the latter of which, consisting principally of sugar, coffee, and tobacco, were very much in defect. The decreasing numbers of the population were feelingly and seriously alluded to. 'It is a subject,' said the King, 'in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance;—our acts are in vain unless we stay the wasting hand that is destroying our population. I feel a heavy and special responsibility resting on me in this matter.' The King then recommends to the consideration of the legislature the establishment of public hospitals, and this is the first germ of the noblest institution possessed by the Hawaiian people, the present Queen's Hospital. Disappointment is expressed at the result of Chinese coolie emigrants, and it is suggested that an immigration from other Polynesian groups should be encouraged in preference, as more congenial in ideas and language, and more easily acclimated.

The session disagreeing on the Bill of Supplies, the King exercised his prerogative of dissolving the houses, on the 16th of June, and convening legislature afresh six weeks afterwards.

The King had addressed letters announcing the death of his royal predecessor to Her Britannic Majesty; the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of Russia; the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden and Norway; and to the Presidents of the United States, Hamburg, Bremen, Chile, and Peru. Thus did the

little kingdom dwelling far away from the nations of Europe, keep itself in correspondence, and claim its brotherhood, with them.

To maintain his foreign relations, the King was represented abroad by diplomatic or consular agents in Paris, in London, in the chief ports of Great Britain, in Copenhagen, Hamburg, Bremen, New York and other places in the United States, at Lima, Valparaiso, San Francisco, at Canton, Hongkong, in the Friendly, Fiji, and Navigators Islands; at Sydney, Melbourne, and other places; and he had a political commissioner to the independent states and tribes of Polynesia and Tasmania.

The administration, originally containing five departments, has been redistributed into three portfolios and an attorney-general.

That of the Interior is held by Dr. F. W. Hutchison, and it includes the Bureau of Public Improvements; Foreign Relations by M. C. de Varigny, who is also charged with the duties of Secretary at War; Finance by Mr. C. C. Harris. Public instruction is no longer a ministry, and its President reports to the department of Interior. The Cabinet office of Attorney-General is at present vacant.

Mr. E. A. Allen is Chief Justice. The 'Hawaiian Gazette' is avowedly the organ and mouthpiece of the government, announcing and advocating its views. In its columns the government makes official announcements, or gives semi-official intimations. At the close of the year 1861, the office of director of the press was abolished.

About ten years ago the Hawaiian Agricultural Society was founded; an institution which has already been of very great service in the islands. It ranks among

its members Dr. Hillebrand, Mr. Green, and other men of enlightened mind and extensive scientific knowledge. It promotes among the people the knowledge of natural laws, and gives advice on the several subjects which the large name of agriculture embraces; it imports seeds, plants, and animals, and maintains a small experimental garden and arboretum for acclimatization, &c. At the opening of the Native Hawaiian Agricultural Society, a sister institution, on the 5th of January, 1856, the late King, as President, made a remarkable and very interesting speech, in the native language. This address was taken down in short-hand and translated into English. In doing this, the reporter naïvely says,

> The difficulty of taking short-hand notes in English of what is being said in the native dialect, the construction of which is peculiar, a sentence often beginning at the end, and ending in the middle, must be our apology for doing so little justice to the eloquent language and sound common-sense ideas expressed by the President.

On that occasion His Majesty said:

> One of the greatest prospective advantages we see in the assiduous pursuit of agriculture is the reformation it would work among the people. It is not in the ranks of modern farmers that you must look for the most ignorant and immoral men. We all know that when an individual enters upon an undertaking, of the mode to accomplish which he is ignorant, he applies for information where it may be found, having learnt that a man unqualified for his task must fail in it. Having acquired thus much experience, and being solicitous for the prosperity and happiness of his children, he will on no account omit sending them to school, so that they may not be trammelled in after-years by ignorance, as their father was. Thus the rising generation. The children find themselves, on

starting in life, possessed of the information necessary to success; whereas their father had to struggle on his way in the midst of darkness and misapprehension. Suppose a step, similar to the one I have described, were made by the young people from one end of the islands to the other. Would not ignorance give way to intelligence? Would not darkness become light? Would not inexpertness succumb to proficiency? The general result could only be a largely-increased sum of individual and national prosperity.

The King spoke of the particular advantages of climate with which the Hawaiian Islands are favoured:—

Who ever heard of winter upon our shores? When was it so cold that the labourer could not go to his field? Where among us shall we find the numberless drawbacks which in less favoured countries the working classes have to contend with? They have no place in our beautiful group, which rests on the swelling bosom of the Pacific like a water-lily. With a tranquil heaven above our heads, and a sun that keeps his jealous eye upon us every day, whilst his rays are so tempered that they never wither prematurely what they have warmed into life, we ought to be agriculturists in heart as well as practice.

The royal speaker then proceeds to point out the ills arising from a foolish hospitality, which is extended everywhere, towards the lazy and good-for-nothing equally with those who are worthy of hospitality. Thus a class of strong, idle young men, went 'loafing' about the country—*nati consumere fruges*—not ashamed to appropriate in any house the scanty meal which had been provided by hard labour, but which was never denied to any who claimed hospitality.

I am well aware, says the King, that the sharing of food with every stranger and visitor that comes along, is dignified with the name of ancient Hawaiian hospitality. I now tell you it is

not true hospitality. Can that hospitality be correct in theory or practice which sends old men and sick men to work under a hot sun, whilst lusty young people lie in the house playing cards? At present we are a poor people, for the surplus produced by the few who work is consumed by the many who claim at their hands the rights of your boasted hospitality. Never close your doors on those who are hungry through sickness, misfortune, or the wrongs they have received; but, on the other hand, never help those who are too lazy to help themselves.

Thus the young King, as the father of his people, gave humane advice to his subjects, preaching from the text of the cultivation of the soil; and his suggestions were none the less benevolent on account of the strong common sense which prompted them and clothed them in words. He tries to check another common fault, that of impatience for results. He deprecates the dream in which too many of the people indulged, that of supposing that a fortune was to be acquired in a very short time. He tells them that want of perseverance is the cause of their non-success, when much is in their favour—when their patches of land are granted to them by law, and their hands not tied either by natural or artificial bonds.

This address we are told was listened to by the royal speaker's audience with great earnestness, and from time to time subdued expressions of 'Oiaio no'—'True, true,'—broke from different parts of the house.

Besides the two allied agricultural societies, other institutions sprang up; a Chamber of Commerce, a Chapter and Lodge of Freemasons, the King himself being Grand Master of the Progrès de l'Océanie. This fanciful and mystical name itself speaks that love of progress which has shown itself so strongly in the dynasty of Kaméhaméha; and young as his present

Majesty was when he came to the throne, he immediately began to develope the family tradition, and announced himself the man of advance.

On the 19th of June, 1856, the King married Emma, daughter of Naea, a chief lineally descended from the ancient kings of Hawaii. Her Majesty's mother, Fanny Kekela, is the daughter of the famous Englishman, John Young, the right hand of Kaméhaméha I., and whom the conqueror delighted to honour. Queen Emma has consequently one-fourth part English blood in her veins, the remaining stream being high and pure Hawaiian. Young, who in native is called Keoni Ana, married the high female chief Kaoanaeha. As a child Her Majesty was adopted by Dr. Rooke, a physician residing in the islands; and both by her education and natural disposition, is eminently adapted to sustain the place she fills with grace and dignity. She was, moreover, the earnest seconder of her royal husband in every patriotic design for the welfare and advancement of their people.

On the 3rd of November in the year of his marriage, the King issued a proclamation, which had become customary, calling his subjects' thoughts to thankfulness for the blessings their land had enjoyed during the year; and recommending that on Christmas-day, those not unprepared feelings should find expression in acts of public thanksgiving. There is something very sweet and primitive in such an observance. A young king, not so much in the character of a patriarch as that of the elder brother of a wide-spread family, beaming with newly-acquired domestic happiness, and calling upon all his great household to choose a day for thankful retrospection,—to rejoice and be glad in it; that day too, when all the world is invited to hail the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in His wings.

'Whereas,' says the proclamation, 'during the year now drawing to a close, we have enjoyed as a people, numerous and great blessings; peace and tranquillity have prevailed throughout our islands; we have been not only free from dangers from abroad, but have continued to enjoy the most friendly assurances of protection in our independence from the most powerful governments in the world; although the times have been hard through the scarcity of money, and our people have suffered from a drought almost unparalleled, neither our agriculture nor commerce has entirely failed; both begin to revive; perhaps we have never enjoyed a year of more general health; our laws have been sustained; religion and education have been free and prosperous. For all of which numerous and invaluable blessings we owe, as a nation, a formal, general, and heartfelt tribute of thanksgiving to the Almighty, on whose favour all prosperity, whether individual or national, depends.'

On the 20th of May, 1858, Her Majesty gave birth to a son, to the very great delight and happiness of all classes. Apart from parental joy, the event was auspicious as promising to continue a regular succession to the throne in the present family. The following day, all the separate services and orders, soldiers and ministers, native subjects and foreign consuls, hastened to offer their sincere congratulations at the palace; the King replying to each address in feeling and appropriate expressions. On the 29th, royal letters patent were issued, constituting and declaring the style and title of the heir-apparent to be 'His Royal Highness the Prince of Hawaii.' On the 3rd of October, 1859, at an extraordinary session of the House of Nobles held at the palace 'in contemplation of a vacancy in the chief executive office, at all times liable to occur,' the King called attention to the importance of having the succession to the crown definitely established in a constitutional manner; and he then designated his infant son

his heir and successor to the throne. The following proclamation was issued the same day:—

Kaméhaméha IV., of the Hawaiian Islands King, to all our loving subjects and others to whom these presents shall come, greeting:—

Be it known that We, in concurrence with our House of Nobles, hereby appoint and proclain Our son, His Royal Highness the Prince of Hawaii, to be Our Successor and Heir to the Hawaiian Throne.

Done at Our palace, at Honolulu, this third day of October, in the year of our Lord 1859, and the fifth year of Our reign.

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA.
(Signed) KAAHUMANU.
By the King and Kuhina Nui, (Signed) L. KAMEHAMEHA.

In the speech to legislature delivered by commission on the 14th of August, 1860, the Queen Consort was named Regent during the minority of the heir-apparent in case of a vacancy of the throne.

The subject of public hospitals had been broached by the King in his first speech to legislature after his accession, in 1855. In September, 1859, His Majesty had the happiness of opening the admirable institution which had been named after the young Queen. From the MS. notes of one who was present on that interesting occasion, the following sentences are transcribed:—

One of the institutions which should have been first, came into existence last—the hospital. To the personal exertions of the present king and queen the hospital owes its being. A gap in the existing order of things had been talked about and written about; the one thing remaining most necessary for the people had been piously recommended to the legislature by two kings in their turn, and more than twice by each of them, and

yet there arose no refuge for those who were being plucked into the grave by penury and pushed into it by disease. At last, the young father of his people and his younger wife, weary of protestations of good-will, which ended where they began, went out to beg; and the stately intimations from the throne merged into a prayer of earnest heart. One might have thought they were canvassing for some candidate in whom they had a personal interest, so pertinacious and so unavoidable was their request. It was certainly a novel sight to see a king and queen going about to gather names to a subscription list: but so it was; and day after day, and for this end, their Majesties' carriages 'stopped the way.' This episode of royalty mendicant may disarrange the ideas of some who have only seen their sovereign surrounded by the halo of a triumphal arch, or by a brilliant setting of lords and ladies, too happy and too grand (as it seemed) for every-day employments. Yet we might remember how a queen of mighty England even once begged on her knees for the lives of half a dozen burgesses, and five hundred pictures have since celebrated that pious act of love. That appeal is bright with all the colours of romance, whilst this before us appears in homespun. Queen Philippa's prayer was addressed to a king, and has a grand air about it, but this was made by a king to the people; and so prosaically, that a lawyer's office, a trader's counting-house, or a lady's parlour formed the background to the humble scene. However, the effort succeeded. Human charity, and a touch of nature, which 'makes the whole world kin,' with a fancy-fair or two, established the hospital, legislature not refusing its due assistance.

The ladies of Honolulu hemmed the sheets, and their daughters made the pillow-cases. A German gentleman—a consul in fact—volunteered a design for the building: it was erected on his plans, and there the hospital stands, solid, light, airy, clean, commodious. The King, assisted by his brother masons, laid the corner-stone; and to commemorate the woman's part, they have called the hospital after the Queen. Within its walls, already, many lives have been saved, many weary days of sickness have been shortened and sweetened by

gentle ministrations. And well we know that those walls which often reverberate to the moaning of suffering and weakness, fail not to hear at night and morning praises to God, and blessings on their Majesties.

The last act of the King that will fall within the scope of this chapter is the request which he preferred to the Church and people of England, to establish a branch of the reformed Episcopal Church in Hawaii. On the 5th of December, 1859, Mr. Wyllie communicated to His Majesty's representative in London, the desire of the King and the Queen to have a church erected in their capital; towards the support of which the King offered on his own behalf and that of residents who desired the church's services, a certain income. His Majesty devoted a piece of land for the church, and to erect a house. The King directed his representative to confer on the subject with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Church Societies. Subsequently, the King wrote an autograph letter to Her Majesty, and, by His Minister of Foreign Relations, to the Primate, and to Earl Russell.

In another letter it is explained that under the second article of the constitution no national or state religion is to be adopted; but all Christian denominations are placed on an equal footing of right, and possess a perfect freedom of religious worship. Hence no special appropriation could be made by government towards the Episcopal Church. It was desired that the services should be performed with all the rites and ceremonies sanctioned by the Church; and that all vestments, instruments, and ornaments, proper to their due celebration, should be sent from England, and that it was necessary to provide an organ, bell, font, &c.

This despatch recalls the fact of a request, already mentioned in the foregoing pages, having been made to the British Sovereign by Captain Vancouver, to send religious teachers from England to Hawaii. A similar requisition was afterwards made to George IV.; but neither of these appeals was acted upon. To show that the desire for the introduction of the English Church was not new or sudden, it is mentioned that in 1844, a subscription list was circulated and numerously signed in Honolulu for the support of an English clergyman; and other attempts for the same object were made in the years 1847, 1851, and 1858. They had failed hitherto; but the wish had long existed, and the first idea was fairly to be ascribed to the first of the royal line of Kamé-haméha.

It is written with gratitude, that the appeal made in England in 1860 has not been neglected. Men's hearts warmed with the thought that new realms invited the Church's mission, that the distant islands of the ocean waited to be embraced in that kingdom which must extend till the company of preachers who have gone abroad to the east and to the west, again meet one another; and that the craggy heights of far Hawaii might now 'stand up and take the morning.' The new mission has produced an additional interest, inasmuch as this invitation to our Church is the only one that has been made by an independent sovereign. The sister Church in America welcomed the opportunity of joining in the labour of love, and was prepared to go hand in hand with the Church in Great Britain in sending out clergy. The troubles which subsequently broke out in the North American continent did, for a time, interrupt the intended joint action. A committee for conducting in England the affairs of the Hawaiian church

mission was formed; and on the 15th of December, 1861, the Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley, D.D., late fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, was consecrated first Bishop of Honolulu, in Lambeth Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Oxford being assessors. The day was that on which Dr. Thompson, the present Archbishop of York, was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and the

CHURCH PROPOSED TO BE ERECTED IN HONOLULU.

service, at all times a solemn one, was rendered yet more memorable by the news which was spreading itself among the congregation present, of the death of the Prince Consort the previous night.

A subsequent chapter will be devoted to the establishment and progress of the English Church in the Sandwich Islands.

# CHAPTER XXII.

## HAWAIIAN CHARACTERISTICS.

'I HAVE visited many parts of the earth,' writes an old voyager, 'but nowhere in my travels have I met with more than two sorts of human beings,—men and women.'

It will seem trite, after this remark, to say that in the Hawaiian character good and ill qualities are combined ; yet, because this is essentially true, it must be said in spite of its triteness. The important question is, whether the mixed ore, upon analysis, holds out the hope of reduction to a valuable metal.

The most salient points in the native race are courage, hospitality, a friendly and affable disposition, a constitutional good humour and mirthfulness. This much for good. On the other hand must be written against them, indolence, sensuality and licentiousness, improvidence, and a carelessness about life and death, apparently arising from ignorance of, or disbelief in, a future existence. In things indifferent, their natural taste is æsthetic ; they have a great love of beauty, are imitative, and ambitious to copy the manners, habits, dress, and luxuries of foreigners. They have as much imagination as other Pacific tribes, but in their religion they were materialistic idolaters, and in this were strongly distinguished from the red tribes of North America, whose

worship is purely spiritual, having no visible representations of divinity, and is addressed to the great spirit Manetou. Considerable importance should be given to the fact of this distinction in comparing the aborigines of North America with those of Oceanica.

After this short summary, we will proceed to examine the features of the Hawaiian character more in detail. And first a word as to the *physique* of the race. The Hawaiians are strong, well-made, and active; in height rather above the average of our own country. In complexion they vary much among themselves. The fishing and other classes, which expose themselves very greatly in the sun, become almost black: on the other hand, there are natives who might be properly called fair, and these of pure blood; the half-castes being, naturally, lighter in hue. Speaking generally, their skin may be said to be olive brown, approximating to the tint of the Moors of North Africa. The hair is black and waving, frequently quite straight. Its curl is perfectly free from the woolliness of the African, scarcely differing from the hair of those Europeans who are fortunate enough not to have straight locks. The women are unquestionably attractive. Their figures whilst young keep the *juste milieu* between lightness and *embonpoint*; the limbs and bust are finely formed, and the hands, feet, and ankles are small and delicate. Their beauty is inferior, on the whole, to the Marquesan women's, but they retain it much longer than women generally do in tropical climates, or even in Europe. Many Hawaiian females are still handsome at fifty, the common fault brought by advancing years being that of excessive corpulency. In men and women the countenance is characterized by a fulness of the nostrils, although the nose is not flat; the face is wide, and the eyes bright and black. The

women are attractive from their cheerful, smiling, and lively expression; whilst their merry laugh and pleasant *aloha*, or welcome, show the face to be an index of their mind. From the remarkable height and bulk of the chiefs, both males and females, the dominant class has been considered by some writers to be a distinct and conquering race. Residents in the islands are not of this opinion, and account for the difference in size between the chiefs and the common people as arising from abundance of food and rest and other hereditary advantages. Sir George Simpson speaks of a chief and chiefess to whom he was introduced as so unwieldy, that though in perfect health, they were unable to walk.

Courage—stronger than battering-rams—is the basis of every fine character. The Hawaiians possess the virtue in an unquestionably high degree. It was shown in the old warlike times by their open, standing-up fight. Their bodies were unprotected by armour or even by clothes; their weapons were the spear, the dagger, the club, and stones. They did not resort to artifice or stratagem in war, and they kept up a fight with the determination of a Witherington, and for a length of time which makes Chevy Chase shrink into insignificance. War has been entirely abolished for forty years, but their valour shows itself under new forms. The Hawaiians are now as peaceful a people as any upon earth; they are more free from crimes of violence than almost any nation that can be named. Their natural courage crops out in their love of, and daring in, riding; in their delight in swimming among the heavy breakers rolling over the reefs; their descent of precipices, and even in their games. Kaméhaméha I. would allow six of his warriors to throw their spears

at him, himself armed only with one of the javelins, with which he would turn aside the flying weapons, each ready to let out his life-blood. The women no longer follow their husbands to the battle, to staunch their wounds or fight beside them; but they endure long journeys, and bear heavy burdens, swim through the raging surf, and plunge down the waterfall into the ocean when the leap is forty feet and upwards in height. The courage of both sexes is exhibited in the calm indifference with which they await death. The king of terrors does not much appal them. This may arise partly from stoicism, and partly from unbelief or want of a strong belief in an after-state; it probably is also due in part to their constitutional firmness.*

It appears strange, and contrary to analogy, that a people of bold and forcible character should express themselves in a language more fitted for the Sybarites. We are accustomed to look upon language as among national idiosyncrasies and indicative of the national character. The angular teutonic speech with its crowd of obstructive consonants, seems natural and necessary to the peoples which use it; the vocal and emasculated derivations from the Latin, flow congruously from the

* The following remark of a missionary may seem somewhat at variance with the above view; but superstition is an infection which saps many bold and even religious minds:—

'The Hawaiians can lie down and die the easiest of any people with which I am aequainted. I have pretty good reason for the belief that they sometimes die through fear, believing that some person having the power to pray them to death is in the act of doing so; and the imagination is so wrought up that life yields to intense fear.' ('Answers to Mr. Wyllie's Questions.')

The yielding up of life under these circumstances is not, however, inconsistent with the possession of great courage; because the Hawaiians had a settled belief that no degree of courage or resistance could avail them in such a case, and they in consequence submitted themselves calmly to their fate.

pleasure-loving inhabitants of South Europe. The Greek language was born of masculine energy and elegant fancy; and so delicate was the people's apprehension of the expressive, that several dialects necessarily grew up where there were geographical and other differencing circumstances within the nation. The Hawaiian language is so soft as rather to be compared to the warbling of birds than the speech of suffering mortals. It is usually said to contain but twelve letters, namely, seven consonants, and five vowels. This is, however, only the case by counting the two pairs of interchangeables as two letters. The *k* and *t*, and the *l* and *r*, are so blended, that the distinction between the letters of each pair is not observed by the natives, or even by those who have been long resident in the islands. It is probable that the two interchangeable pairs were really two real letters, not found in European alphabets, and were analytically resolved into two elements by the missionaries, in order to give them known phonetic expression. The Arabic guttural, combining *g* and *r*, cannot be phonetically expressed in our language.*

Assuming, however, the two pairs to be four letters, the Hawaiian alphabet consists of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants *h*, *k*, and *t*, *l*, and *r*, *m*, *n*, *p*, and *w*. The consonants rejected are *b*, (since the residence of white people, added for foreign words) *c*, not used as a sibilant, and only found under the sound of *k*; *d*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *q*, *s*, *v*, *x*, *y*, and *z*. Our ears are so accustomed to a centrifugal language, that we can scarcely conceive how a people could get on without an *f*, a *g*, or an *s*. Whole

* I do not speak decisively on this point. An informant who knows the language very thoroughly, states that the *k* and *t*, and the *l* and *r* are as pure in a Hawaiian's mouth as in a European's.

sentences may consist of vowels without the admixture of a single consonant.

The language may, on the whole, says Sir George Simpson, be considered as pleasing and agreeable to the ear after a time, though at first it sounds childish, indistinct, and insipid. It lacks, of course, everything like force and expression; and the natives are by no means to be compared as orators with the aborigines of North America. The language is not capable of reaching the lofty strain of the Blackfeet, the Crees, or the Saulteaux, but flows on in a mellifluous feebleness, which, though it never offends the ear, always leaves us unsatisfied.

The indistinctness and confusion which arise from the scantiness of its elements, and its consequent repetition of the same sounds, are considerably aggravated by the copiousness of the vocabulary—a copiousness which is said to have been in a great measure caused by the pride and policy of the chiefs, who habitually invented new words for their own peculiar use, and constantly replaced them, as soon as they became familiar to the people, with other novelties of the same kind. Under those circumstances, to say nothing of the intricacy and precision of the grammar, a foreigner can never hope entirely to master the tongue; and even the missionaries, in spite of all their industry and zeal, often find their ears at fault, more particularly when the natives, as is their custom in cracking their jokes at the expense of strangers, chant their barely articulate strings of vowels in a quick and monotonous strain.

The Hawaiians have, moreover, a different dialect for their poetry; or, at least, if the language be the same, its inflections and construction appear very different, and its metaphors and allusions, which give enjoyment to the native race, elude the comprehension of residents who are well acquainted with the Hawaiian language used in prose. A young poetess, lately dead, who suffered under the intractable name of Poki, enchained the people with her lyrics; yet an informant,

who knew the prose language so perfectly that he could report in shorthand the speeches made in the houses of legislature, was entirely baffled in his attempts to comprehend the poetry, which by turns melted and inflamed its native hearers. The people were fond of fabulous tales and songs, and formerly spent much of their time in telling stories, and crooning their *mêlés*, or songs, to the accompaniment of the small drum or the musical stick. Indeed the Hawaiians equalled the Marquesans, the most lively natives of the Pacific, in the number of their songs, and exceeded in that respect the Society Islanders.

The fatal gift of beauty, a delicious climate, which rendered clothing unnecessary—except the flowery wreath, which both sexes wore, partly from innate taste and partly to shade the eyes—an indolent and pleasure-loving constitution, abundant opportunity, their houses small and undivided by partitions, and the absence of adverse public opinion, are among the prevalent causes of a general absence of chastity among the Hawaiians.* Till taught otherwise by the missionaries, the natives had no conception that aphrodisiac indulgences were even wrong or hurtful; they had not even a word to express chastity in their language. To learn to look upon sensual love as sin, was to acquire a lesson as new as it was difficult; for the teaching of ancient custom was universally opposite to such a doctrine. It is true that in special cases adultery was severely punished, but this seems to have been the fruit of expediency and

* The men wore the *malo*, a narrow girdle of linen passing round the waist and between the thighs, very similar to the cloth of the Hindoos. The women used the *pau*, a short petticoat reaching from the waist nearly to the knees. In addition to this scant measure of clothing, the people very frequently wore a short mantle or tippet.

respect for chiefdom. Even hospitality would not have been complete without an unconditional offer to an honoured guest of a transient partner, to be selected from the female household. The light of nature had not taught them to restrain their appetites, and society went on under those licentious conditions. To such a nation as this, the cold injunctions of morality were powerless, and a doctrinal religion not insisting on fruits of holiness was as inoperative. The highest argument of the schools prevails little against the inexorable logic of the senses stirred by passion. Why linger more on so ungrateful a theme? It is perhaps not quite true that the Hawaiians did not feel some moral degradation, though they could not rise above it; and the sense of want of self-respect led them commonly to speak of themselves as 'beasts.'* Yet if they did not love wisely, they could love well, and they had among themselves many shining instances of constancy, even to death, under circumstances where it might be supposed constancy must have faltered and died.

The American missionaries, and the native government actuated by the missionaries, threw themselves unenquiringly and at once into a crusade against the prevailing licentiousness of the people. Fines, imprisonment, severe labour, and informers, were the weapons of their warfare. A great apparent change was rapidly effected. They clothed and converted the natives, and they produced, not, alas! a regenerated people, but a nation of hypocrites. It is no difficulty to the Hawaiians to dissemble; simulation and dissimulation are dramatic costumes they readily assume. They not only seemed to do what the missionaries required, but they imitated the manner, tones, and the

* See 'Answers to Mr. Wyllie's Questions,' No. 63.

very appearance of the missionaries themselves. In fact they are admirable mimics. The missionaries' gesture and intonation, their soft feline style of approach, their very seat in the saddle, the sun-burnt black suit, all were exactly counterfeited,—nothing escaped them! It is only doing the missionaries justice to say that they might well have been deceived by such a looking-glass resemblance of themselves.

Indolence is another grand fault attributed to the Hawaiian race. It is very true that the delicious, equable climate engenders in those constantly within its influence a lotus-eating habit, a love of the *dolce far niente*. Their absolute wants were few; and as the chiefs would have pounced down on any little surplus the people could have acquired by labour, they lost the powerful stimulus of a desire to accumulate. It is going beyond the truth to say that indolence was entirely ingrained in the people's nature. It was enforced upon them by circumstances. 'The moral effect of unpaid labour upon their habits is to do as little as possible when at work, and that little as unfaithfully as possible. The influence of unwilling labour when excessive, as I understand it, is injurious to health, so far as a healthy state of body depends upon cheerfulness of mind.'* Thus with a distaste for labour forced upon them; with the knowledge that the fruits of labour would be stolen from them, and with a tolerable certainty that they would not actually starve if they did the minimum quantity of work, we are not surprised that many Hawaiians were lazy drones, in the absence of a religion which erects diligence in business to the rank of a God-beloved virtue. Nor is it correct to say that indolence was universal. It is true that a *taro* pit having

* 'Answers to Mr. Wyllie's Questions,' No. 25.

the area of an ordinary dressing-room will keep a man in food the whole year—*if it be diligently cultivated.** But there are few species of labour more constant and more wearing than that of cultivating the esculent arum. The men work in the heat of the day in the patches or pits, which require to be kept filled to a certain height with water. Irrigation has to be attended to, the plant continually tended, and even when used, the process of converting the root into *poi*, which is done by pounding it for a long time with a heavy stone pestle, is heavy and tedious work. Ellis remarks, 'We have often been struck with the restless avidity and untiring effort with which they pursue even the most toilsome game.'

The natural disposition of the Hawaiians is everything that is opposite to the gloomy and morose. The pleasant, universal '*aloha*' or salutation, the merry ringing laughter of the women wherever found, proclaim the people to be a light-hearted race. No occasion to address to them, as Southey does to the fair sex on a consideration of the shortness of life, 'a melancholy exhortation to be cheerful while they may,'—for the cares of life sit lightly on them. It is consistent with such mirthful and good-tempered temperament to be wanting in very deep human feelings; but the people are as kindly and as hospitable as any who inhabit our planet. Nothing is more offensive to a Hawaiian's feelings than that a traveller should not return the '*aloha*' or salutation; and they are very observant of the '*haole*' or

* It has been calculated that a square mile of *taro* will feed 15,151 persons during the same period. When raw the root is acrid and styptic, and is used in that state medicinally. The plant is propagated by tops cut from the suckers of one year's growth. Beds are dug two or three feet deep in the earth, and are beaten hard to make them hold water. There is a red and a white species, with several varieties of both kinds.

foreigner. In living, they are simple, having few artificial wants. The chiefs especially exhibited great courtesy. Their hospitalities were always accompanied by a polite behaviour peculiarly gratifying to those who came within their range, and indicated a degree of refinement seldom found among uncivilized nations.* This courtesy was remarkably shown in the use of the graceful dual in their speaking, and their delicacy by the constant practice which prevailed among the chiefs of washing the hands before and after meals. Personal cleanliness must have been greatly promoted by the universal bathing habits of the people.

The dwellings of the natives, writes Sir George Simpson, are extremely neat and clean both internally and externally. They are constructed of a framework of bamboos covered with grass. The furniture is very simple, though generally sufficient for the wants of the inmates in such a climate. The houses (he is writing in 1842) are commonly separated into sleeping and sitting compartments by means of curtains hung across from wall to wall: but everything, whether exposed to view or not, whether within the house itself or merely within the surrounding inclosure, is scrupulously clean and neat, presenting, in this respect, a wonderful contrast with the filth and confusion of most of the native lodges of the Continent. At whatever time of the day we dropped into a house, we found no difference in any of these particulars; there was never any unpleasant smell about the premises. In fact, as far as my experience goes, cleanliness may be ranked among the cardinal virtues of the Hawaiians.†

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* Ellis mentions, as an instance of their hospitality, that two hundred dogs were cooked at one feast: and that Auna, his guide, had seen four hundred baked dogs at one entertainment, with proportionate quantities of fish, hogs, and vegetables. The value of the dogs, which are bred and fed purposely for eating, would be very great.

† 'Overland Journey,' ii. 41.

Other observers, it must be added, give by no means the same satisfactory account of their cleanliness.

In no country is there greater safety to person and property. Murders occur at about the rate of one in three years, and the malefactors are chiefly Chinese immigrants. A few petty larcenies enliven the criminal courts; but the newspapers complained lately that no burglary has taken place to give animation to their columns, and interest to their readers.

The Hawaiians are devotedly fond of litigation. It is the form the combativeness of their nature has taken since war and violence have been abandoned. Some of the natives make shrewd lawyers, and their courts are always pretty full of business. Justice is administered in many parts of the islands by native judges, some of whom show great aptitude for their office. The writer of some rural sketches in the 'Commercial Advertiser,' was much struck by an individual of this order, whom he describes as a fine-looking fellow about six feet high, well-proportioned, and with a hand that might well have belonged to a high-born patrician woman. He had abundance of the dignity befitting his occupation. This dignity characterized the chiefs. Those whom we have seen in Europe possessed it in a large degree. They were at their ease in the best society; and whilst never intrusive, they expressed in their bearing that sense of nobility which makes itself felt in the leaders of a civilized or of a savage society.

These Polynesian islanders are, as already stated, an æsthetic people, having an extreme love of the beautiful. During the first glimmerings of civilization they imported from Europe fine glass and china: the fashions of Paris are reproduced in Honolulu. Their admiration of personal beauty is extreme in all classes. Some

few years ago, there landed on the wharf at Honolulu a beautiful stranger, the native of another island of the group. Beauty will always assert its sway and draw us with a single hair. The highest instance of beauty in every race would be admitted to be admirable in every other nation. A young beauty from China would create a sensation in a London drawing-room or a Parisian *salon*. This Aphrodite stepping on shore from the lapping waters was instantly recognized as superlatively beautiful. She was immediately surrounded by unaffected admirers, each of whom in his unsophisticated adoration saluted her with his lips. Never was a first-born child more 'fretted with sallies of his mother's kisses.' The news of her arrival spread like wildfire. Men left their anvil and their *poi*, and crowded round the lovely stranger. She stood there like the moon within a coloured halo,—only the halo pressed rather close, and came near stifling her. The police were obliged to interfere; and even then a fate like that of the late Miss Verey, who was looked to death by admirers, became imminent; when the happy thought occurred to the chief constable, or (but we hope not) to the lady herself, of placing a tariff on her ruby lips, of a quarter of a dollar for each salute. The money was cheerfully paid, but the 'pull' against the public had gradually the desired effect, and the beautiful stranger in a few hours was released.

Their love of the graceful and beautiful was seen in the universal use of flowers and leaves for coronals. Even in their churches the people would throw themselves on the ground in graceful attitudes wreathed as at a festival. They have lately been taught better manners. The writer of the rural sketches previously mentioned thus describes an unpremeditated picture on which he chanced:—

It was a group of which a painter might have been proud, consisting chiefly of a party of native girls. Their hair and necks were ornamented with the gay flowers of the *ohelo* (Gualtheria pendulifiorum), as beautifully interwoven as if done by fairy fingers. They appeared as unsophisticated and happy as if they were strangers to every sorrow. In the centre was an old man, nearly one hundred years of age, who had lived in the days of Kaméhaméha I., and had witnessed the annihilation of several pagan temples, and the destruction of 40,000 idols.

It is to be hoped that the centenarian was a good old man, and was teaching that young galaxy of beauty some useful moral lesson.

The Hawaiians are a somewhat agricultural people, and were so when first discovered, and indeed from their earliest history. In this respect they differed from the aborigines of North and South America, as they did also in regard to their worship, being idolaters, whilst the red races of the northern continent maintained an immaterial worship. This agrarian tendency may account for their love of animals. They took to riding as if 'to the manner born.' Every woman has a pet animal; and mothers who are nursing their offspring will suckle a puppy at the same time—a rivalry by no means in favour of the strength or number of their own progeny. Sometimes the favourite is a young pig. Their tenderness towards this unclean animal was amusingly exemplified by a traveller who came upon a group of native women surrounding a hog of five hundred pounds' weight, which lay panting in the midst. The females had denuded themselves almost entirely, and were cooling the pig by dipping their garments in water and covering him with them.

In old countries where races have amalgamated and

systems changed, where a remnant of the past runs parallel with the body of the present or blends intricately with it, it is not always easy to trace each peculiarity of the national mind to its source. But in Hawaii, unconquered and uncolonized, retaining its language and the broader conditions of social existence the same at the commencement of this century as they had been for untold ages gone by, this homogeneity makes it less difficult to discover the connection between cause and effect in what is called the genius of the people. Of their moral failings enough has already been said, and the sources of the laxity have been sufficiently alluded to. Their indolence has also been accounted for, an indolence which must not be confounded with sloth. From time immemorial the people lived under chiefs of greater or less influence. For them they worked and fought, and from them they received protection and the necessaries of life, either directly in the shape of a share of the common product, or of the produce of their individual labour on little patches of land set apart for their particular use. They did the work of the chiefs in companies, each company having a *luna* or head man. The rapidity with which they could build and thatch a large house, or lay up great lengths of stone wall, or prepare and plant acres of land with kalo, or cut and carry to the beach cargoes of sandal-wood, was quite surprising. The particular work having been done, the people would fall forthwith into a state of repose, or hurry back to resume their own little affairs at home. Thus their minds acquired a habit of alternating between action and inaction, which distinguishes them to the present day. We have spoken of them as indolent, but there is hardly an individual among the natives who is not capable, at times,

of very severe exertion and of great activity. The nature of their private agricultural employments tended then, and still tends, to create the same habit of intermittent labour. To prepare a kalo patch for planting, after it has lain fallow and its loamy bottom become sunbaked, is no easy matter. To accomplish the task is very hard work; but the proper preparations made, its possessor may spend his time easily enough, for any woman or child is able to tend the kalo as it advances towards maturity. To fell a tree and chip out a canoe and shape it is hard work, and to carry it through the woods and down rough valleys and precipices on human shoulders is not less so; but to paddle it about when floated and bring it to land on the crest of a breaker is more a matter of skill and pleasure than of strength. These instances may suffice to show that habits of continuous labour were not necessary in the social condition of the people, and were therefore not formed; but it would be an injustice to presume that therefore they cannot be formed under different auspices. The men who hire themselves on the sugar and coffee plantations and labour day by day all the year round, might be pointed to in order to show that the Hawaiian can assimilate himself to new habits of labour; and it is to be observed that they generally re-hire themselves at the expiration of their engagement. Then there are the printers and salesmen, the carpenters, blacksmiths, seamen, tailors, and house-servants, all of whom labour continuously. No doubt there are many strong, heavy-limbed young men who prefer riding about on horseback, calling from house to house, and eating where hospitality offers, to regular industry. But would not a great many of the working men in England do the same if they had the opportunity? That drones should

be permitted in the hive is unwise, but as long as they are permitted there will be no lack of them. These remarks are important in estimating the calibre of the Hawaiians, for in this bustling age little interest can be felt in a hopelessly lazy man or people.

The effect of the ancient custom of the chiefs calling upon their retainers to go together to labour, and return together to repose, is observable in many of the popular habits at the present time. The people of a village often agree that on a certain day they will in a body undertake such or such a job, though the work done by each is on his own account. In our country we are accustomed to see each individual perform what he has to do when it best suits his own convenience, and are surprised at a procedure so different from our own.

In the same way the women will enter into a convention that on a given day they will go into the woods to pick apples or gather flowers for wreaths, although the apples would have tasted as sweet and the wreaths have become them as well if gathered on any intervening day.

Among the Hawaiian customs may be mentioned a fashion of giving a feast on the death-day of those who were dear to them. On such, to us sad, occasions they make quite as merry as if they were assisting at the celebration of a birth. They very frequently, also, keep the bodies of the dead, coffined, but unburied, in their dwelling-houses, eating and enjoying themselves in that solemn presence, and telling good stories of the departed, whom they indicate by name, or, more forcibly, by pointing to the bier. Widows of rank sometimes have a tent pitched near the graves of their husbands, to which they retire with a retinue every evening, to sleep or mourn. Yet they fear spirits, and when they see

one in the dark (as the females often do), they scream till the hills echo their alarm.

A common practice existed in Hawaii of giving away children at their birth. It was, and still is, very much the custom to do so. Children so made over have at least as much, and very often more, love for their adoptive than their natural parents. They regard the real authors of their being in much the same light as uncles and aunts; and as if to assist an indefiniteness of feeling in these respects, the real or the adoptive parents go by the same title as uncles and aunts; and it does not require a near connection to make an uncle or aunt. As a consequence, it is sometimes difficult to know the exact relationship of some person alluded to. For instance, a young Hawaiian may be speaking of his 'makuakane.' You ask him if he means his actual father? No.—His adoptive father, then? No. Who does he mean? Why, the brother of his father's brother's wife. The father's brother's wife being his aunt, all her sisters are his aunts, and all her brothers his uncles, and are known (unless particular distinctness is required) by the same definition of relationship as his father and mother *de facto*. A great many wise things might be said about a custom which breaks up what has been considered the nucleus of all government, to wit, the relationship between parents and their offspring. The custom referred to arose probably in the good old troublous times, when the people, females as well as men, were a good deal ordered out by their superiors, and a family of young children was inconvenient. We may fancy, too, that the chiefs, who liked to increase the number of their retainers, encouraged those under them to adopt the children of others who were less in a condition to be burthened

with them. But then the chiefs did the same thing; perhaps from considerations of policy in another shape. Whatever the origin of the custom, of late years it has probably been complied with principally from a desire on the part of the person adopting to have some young thing to take care of, and be amused by, or to secure an heir. To whatsoever causes we assign the present want of fecundity among the Hawaiian females, we must suppose them to have been more prolific when this custom first prevailed. To the desire of the childless for children, therefore, can hardly be traced the origin and universality of what in most countries would be called an unnatural practice.

# CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE DEPOPULATION OF THE ISLANDS—KIBROTH-HATAAVA.

THE depopulation of the Hawaiian Islands is a chapter which must be written, with however much regret.

There are, of course, some general principles involved in the phenomenon of coloured races dying out in the presence of the white man. They are sufficiently obscure; and were the fact of depopulation confined to a few instances, some obvious natural causes might seem sufficient to account for the decay of native races when in contact with white-skinned settlers or invaders. But as the rule of decay of dark races seems, rather, to be universal, we must suppose some more comprehensive agents of destruction. The fact had attracted the attention of the Hawaiians themselves many years ago. Mr. Hill, who visited the islands in 1849, mentions that one of his European friends who mingled much with the natives informed him that there was a general impression among them of their early extinction. Even in the year 1823, when Mr. Ellis was in Hawaii, a fear of the consequences of the approach of white men prevailed.

At Waikiki the natives seemed to doubt the propriety of foreigners coming to reside among them permanently. They said they had heard that in several countries where foreigners

had intermingled with the original natives, the latter had soon disappeared; and should missionaries come to live there, perhaps the land would ultimately become theirs, and the *Kanaka Maore* (aborigines) cease to be its occupiers.

It is now generally agreed that Captain Cook over-estimated the population of the islands at the time of his visit. He supposed, from what he saw on the coasts, that the entire number of people on the group was about 400,000. He would, perhaps, make allowance for the concourse at any particular bay which such a great event as the arrival of his ships would draw together, but he probably overlooked the identity of the crowd, as to part of its numbers, when he moved from one anchorage to another. A theatrical manager would have put him right at once, because accustomed to make numerical display of a limited company, by many exits and entrances: or if he had watched a city pageant, he would have ascertained that part of the unsatiated spectators in one street filter through side-lanes and alleys and form a portion of the crowd in another thoroughfare before the procession arrives there. Two hundred thousand would be probably the more correct computation of the Hawaiian population in 1778-9. Even then it seems likely to have been on the decrease, and that good old times had preceded that age—times in which a more numerous people covered the islands, and left traces of their strength and abundance in roads, walls, temples, and other works. From Cook's time to the present, the decay of the population has been continuous and rapid. At the time of Mr. Ellis's visit, (1823) the number on the whole of the islands was estimated at from 130,000 to 150,000 souls, of which 85,000 lived on the great island Hawaii. A rapid depopulation had certainly taken place in the previous

fifty years; and among the causes of this decrement he places the frequent and destructive wars of the early part of the first Kaméhaméha's reign; the ravages of a pestilence first brought by foreign vessels, and which twice swept through the islands; the awful prevalence of infanticide; and the increase of depravity and vice, with their destructive consequences. By the natives' own account, the population of the islands had diminished to *one-fourth* its number within forty years. This statement was probably an exaggeration; but if it at all approached the truth, it would give support to Captain Cook's estimate of the people. In Ellis's time there was no census or systematic means of ascertaining the true numbers.

When Mr. Hill was in the islands (1849) the population had fallen, by the last census, to 80,000. At the period of his visit the people were suffering from three distinct diseases, all of European and American importation—namely, the measles, the influenza, and dysentery: and they were dying in such numbers that before he left, the loss was estimated at 10,000, or one-eighth of the entire population.

By the census of 1853, the total number of the inhabitants of the islands was 73,137,—of whom 2,118 were foreigners. By the census of 1860 the numbers had fallen to 69,800,—viz. 67,084 natives and 2,716 foreigners, showing a decrease in seven years of 3,337 persons. To the above numbers, however, must be added 1,000 Hawaiians who were absent from the islands at the enumeration, being engaged at sea and in the guano trade. The excess of males over females at the last census was 6,198. It is believed that the downward progress is at present at a stand, and that there is a probability of the next census showing some small

augmentation of numbers. The subjects of most concern in the remainder of this chapter are the causes of the depopulation, the possibility of their removal or alleviation, and the means for effecting so desirable an end.

Taking the lowest estimate of the population at the moment of Cook's discovery of the islands, the Hawaiian race has diminished to *one-third* in the last eighty years. New elements of destruction have certainly been introduced by the contact of the white man, and full weight must be given to their action: nevertheless it is almost certain that destroying causes were already at work, and that the Hawaiians,—we may say the Polynesians generally,—were a doomed race.

Ellis (in 1822–3) found, from those chiefs who were induced to be communicative, that infanticide still prevailed throughout all the islands; and, with the exception of the higher class of chiefs, was, as far as he could learn, practised by all ranks of the people. However numerous the children among the lower orders, parents seldom reared more than two or three, and many spared only one; all the others were destroyed shortly after birth, generally during the first year of their age. Fœticide and abortion are meant no doubt to be included under the general name of infant murder; for he says 'the means by which it is accomplished, though numerous, it would be improper to describe: several methods frequently proved fatal to the mother also.' From all the information he was able to obtain, and from facts which came to his knowledge in the neighbourhood where he resided, there was every reason to believe that two-thirds of the children were destroyed. The motives assigned for this wholesale

infanticide were idleness, the avoidance of restraint to their habit of wandering, and of the trouble of bringing up families, and the desire to preserve the mother's personal charms, which the nursing of children diminished. A greater number of girls were destroyed than boys: the disproportion of the sexes in the schools was very marked.

In the year 1846, Mr. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Relations, issued a circular addressed to all the missionaries engaged on the islands, to planters, graziers, and others from whom statistics could be obtained, relative to the condition of the Hawaiian people, state of the laws, religion, topography of the islands, mineral wealth, &c., comprising in all 116 questions, to which were added, in 1858, six more questions relating specially to the continuance and well-being of the native race. To the answers to the first 116 questions (those to the remaining six have not been received), we turn for the most authentic information obtainable at the date of the returns, 1848. These answers are from eleven missionaries stationed on the five principal islands, and, as may be supposed, the results obtained from different islands vary considerably, in consequence of inequality of climate, foreign immigration, and other causes. Speaking generally, the following facts were established. Of epidemic diseases influenza was the most frequent, prevalent, and fatal. In Oahu it appeared during the wet season about once in two years, sweeping away many persons very suddenly. Asthma was a common complaint. Of contagious disorders venereal types were common and destructive. In returns from two or three districts the annual number of deaths greatly exceeded the births. The land was much underpeopled; the two districts of Hilo and Puna in Hawaii

would alone support 400,000 inhabitants; in most places the population was not more than one-fifth of what the land would advantageously maintain. The prevailing vices were indolence, deceit, lewdness, and intemperance. Lewdness abounded at the seaports, was encouraged by foreign visitors, and not kept in check by much social disapprobation. In Maui licentiousness prevailed still more among married persons than the single, and great complaint was made of the conduct there of men of standing from Europe and America. The sin was greatly increased by the numbers of whalers and merchantmen which put into the ports to refresh. The consequences were but too apparent. The blood of the nation was affected by it; energy and procreative power were withered up, and the probability of a healthy progeny was cut off. Early decrepitude and barrenness bespoke the miserable taint. In some places, however, a change for the better was showing itself in the opinions and habits of the people.

In answer to the direct question No. 73, as to the cause of the decrease of the population, it was answered, indolence, improvidence, and ignorance of the laws of animal life; but the most direct, certain, and fearful of all exterminating causes are early and protracted habits of licentiousness. Oppression was also adduced as a cause of decrement, and an intelligent native, David Malo, placed foreign influence among such agents; and he asked, 'Why did not our children die as frequently in the time of our dark-heartedness as they do now?' The adoption of foreign materials for clothing appeared unfavourable to health, though conducive to decency; but whatever reasons the respondents to the questions give for the falling-off of population, they are

invariably brought home to the enormous dimensions of the evil which had fallen, and was still falling, on the Hawaiian race, in consequence of illicit intercourse with men from Christian countries. One of the answers differs from the rest, and turns the thoughts to the general fact of coloured races dying out in the presence of white-skinned men. Mr. Coan gives as a cause, 'the mysterious will of God.' There are causes beyond the reach of human investigation, to which must be referred the unfruitfulness of many not the subjects of disease, and the early death of children and females who might have been expected to live and add to the natural increase of the nation.

Later writers confirm the foregoing views of causes destructive to population. Sir George Simpson, in writing of the years 1842–3, having referred to a great waste of life caused in obtaining sandalwood from the mountains, in the early part of the late king's reign, refers to two then existing causes which poisoned the national life—immigration of the men, and the depravity of the women. A thousand males in the very prime of life were leaving the islands for California, Columbia, on long voyages, and in whaling-vessels. As to the women, in addition to infanticide, and that too in its most appalling form of living burial or of artificial abortion, with its consequent sterility, mothers were in the habit of exchanging children, and allowing pet puppies to share nature's food with their own offspring. As to results, the phenomena of the census taken in 1840 were but too conclusive. There was less than one-fourth part of the population of one district under the age of eighteen. By the census of Great Britain in 1851, the proportions of persons under twenty years old and above twenty years were as nine-and-a-half

millions to eleven-and-a-half millions.* In the enumeration of Kauai, referred to above, the progeny deducible was about half a child for each couple that could be classed as men and women.

Mr. Hill, writing of the year 1849, comparing the waste of life in white and coloured populations, remarks :—

> In the islands of the West Indies, and in those near the coast of Africa, quite free from the pestilential malaria of the continental shores, and possessing a similar soil to that of these islands and a not very dissimilar vegetation, beneath the most brilliant skies and amidst the abundance of Nature, the white man withers and dies, while the native flourishes; but in the islands of the Pacific the white man lives, while the native dies at such a fearful ratio as to threaten the speedy depopulation of the group. . . . For the sickness generally of the natives we must look chiefly to causes which are perhaps beyond the reach of any human means to check.

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* A tabulated statement issued by authority, comparing the two census years 1853 and 1860, gives the following results for seven islands, full details of each of their several districts being exhibited therein :—

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1853. Number of males . . | 37,079 | Females . . | 33,940 |
| 1860 „ „ . . | 35,379 | „ . | 31,705 |
| Total in 1853 . . . | 71,019 | | |
| „ 1860 . . . | 67,084 | | |
| Decrease in 1860 . . | 3,935 | | |
| Persons under twenty years, 1853 . | 29,923 | Above twenty . | 41,096 |
| „ „ „ 1860 . | 20,829 | „ . | 46,170 |
| Decrease in 1860 . . | 9,094 | Increase . | 5,074 |

Thus the disproportion between the old and the young, the passing generation and that which should succeed, was greatly increasing, the proportions being in 1853, 1 young person (under 20) to 1·375 ; whilst in 1860 the ratio had sunk to 1 young person to 2·216 old.

Still more recently, the author of 'Progress of Events,' remarking on the decay of the Hawaiian race, says:—

Many will attribute this decrease entirely to the intercourse with men from civilized lands; and that doubtless has had much effect in one respect—the introduction of disease, which, from the universal licentiousness of the people, has been widely disseminated, and of which the numerous sores and cutaneous affections to be seen among them are melancholy evidence: but in other respects the intercourse with foreigners has had no share in this depopulation; for in secluded districts and unfrequented islands of the group, where ardent spirits are quite unknown, and where no white men (save missionaries) reside, the decrease of the population is even more rapid than in the country surrounding places where white residents are concentrated, and which shipping frequents.

The oppressive system of government, the discontinuance of ancient sports, and consequent change in the habits of the people, have been powerful agents in this work of depopulation; and the ill-judged enforcement of cruel punishments and heavy penalties for breaches of chastity have much aided it, by giving an additional stimulus to the practice—always too common among Polynesian females—of causing abortion, of which practice sterility is the natural result.

We have treated this painful topic as slightly and delicately as possible, consistently with giving any view at all of the causes affecting the decay of the Polynesian population. To have observed greater reticence would have been simply to have left the subject untouched; and to have afforded no data for after-considerations as to the conservation of a very interesting race, which the philanthropist may still hope to see 'take root downwards and bear fruit upwards' as Heaven rains in greater measures its healing influences on these nations.

It is true that some of the missionaries of whom Mr. Wyllie made his enquiries, and Dr. Armstrong

himself, the President of the Board of Education, speak in the language almost of despair as to the chances of preserving the native race. 'It is hardly worth while,' writes one of them, 'to seek for the best means of preserving a people, when it is a given point that all means for the purpose will be alike unavailing.' And in the summary to the questions answered, the writers say: 'On the whole, it is doubtful whether the native race will be able to withstand the shock which the overwhelming wave of Anglo-Saxon energy, enterprise, and cupidity has given it.' The active and benevolent mind of Mr. Wyllie seems to have imbibed some similar desponding views. In 1857 he writes: 'It is my frank belief that unless Hawaiian females can be rendered more pure and chaste, it is impossible to preserve the Hawaiian people in being. If that vice (prostitution) subsist, in less than a century the Hawaiian sovereign will have no native subjects to govern, and the besom of destruction will have removed this people from the face of the earth.'

It is evident that unless, by some speedy interposition, the destroying agencies above described can be arrested or reduced, the unmixed Hawaiian race will follow the Dodo, and be extinguished within the term of our own generation. It has been marching with accelerating steps down the fatal slopes, and the remnant which yet remains is—

> '. . . but a wreck and residue,
> Whose only business is to perish.'

Happily, some gleams of hope and encouragement already are bursting through the gloom. Reduced in number to little more than 70,000, the population seems to have touched its lowest point. Some of the causes of

destruction are diminished. Oppression, which makes wise men mad, is past. The falling-off of the whaling trade of the North Pacific during the past few years, though attended at first with the inconvenience of a corresponding decrease of revenue and commercial activity, is one of the greatest benefits the islands could have received. The crowd of whalers, which visited all the Hawaiian ports and roadsteads, greatly increased depravity, and propagated fell disease among the natives, which evil of course was propagated back among the visitors of the islands. The false stimulus given by the whaling trade drew all the energy of the islands to the coasts, and left their interior resources undeveloped, or only utilized for the fattening of herds and the production of vegetables.

The attention of legislators, physicians, and philanthropists has been powerfully drawn to the preservation of the race; and government has engaged itself with plans tending to regulate and confine vices, which it may be out of its power to extirpate entirely. Its recent enactments on the subject of prostitution have reduced the number of the hetæræ of the streets, and the assignment of a syphilitic ward in the new Queen's Hospital at Honolulu has already saved many lives, and been attended with the most marked sanitary advantages. These well-intended regulations, deliberately framed by the two houses, affecting public women, have led to a protracted discussion, and no small amount of obloquy has been cast on the legislative body in consequence. The actions of government receive a very free criticism in one or two of the newspapers published in Honolulu, and the governing body has been severely and sometimes intemperately attacked, for its endeavours to control a vice it has not power to abolish. The

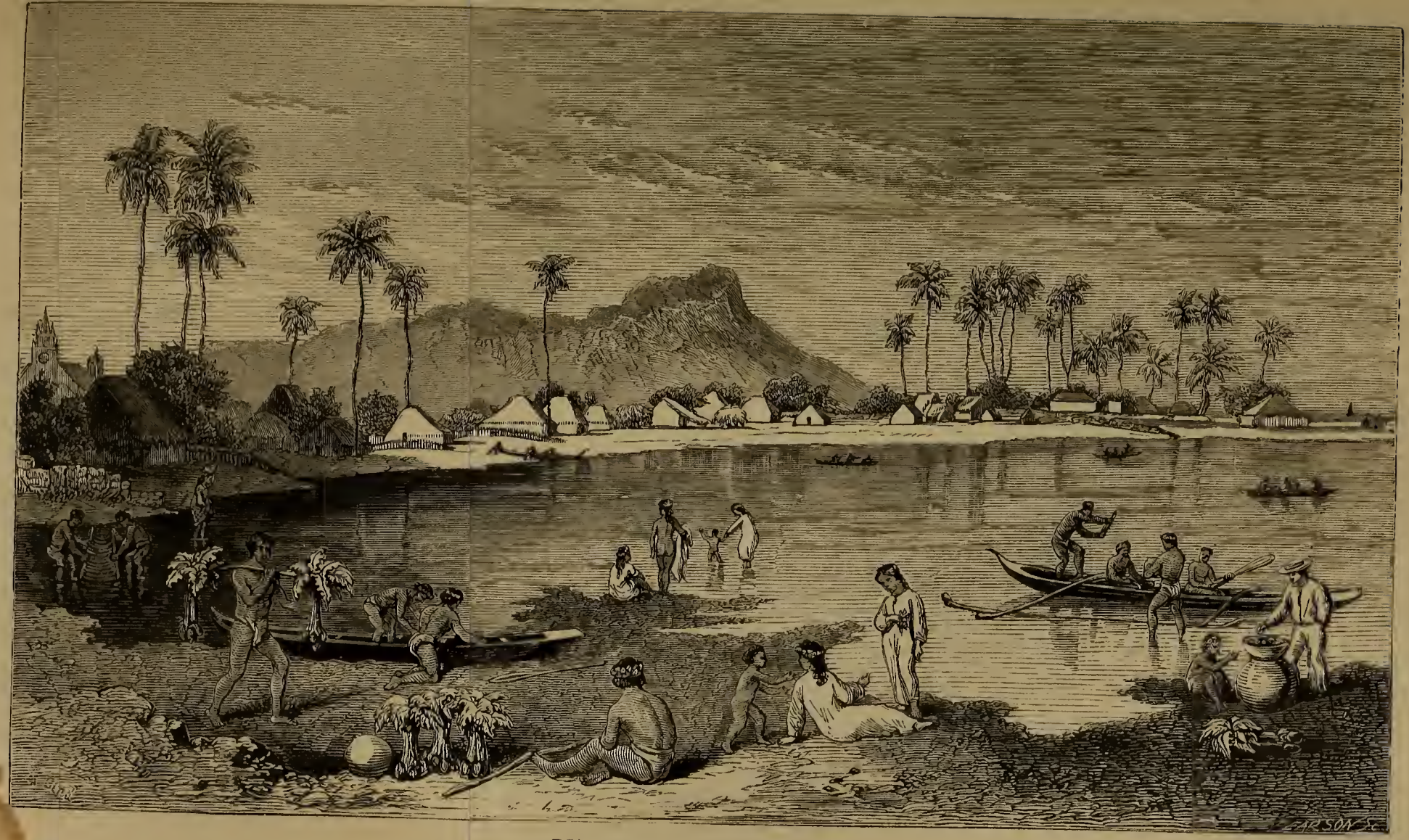
Missionary journal can see no distinction between regulating a vicious condition of society and the open encouragement and legislation of vice. It views the syphilitic ward of the Queen's Hospital as a direct premium for the continuance of a state of things which the legislature ought, in its opinion, to have made vanish with a magician's wand, or to have exorcised with an apostle's power. It shuts its eyes to the absolute benefits which the community has already received from medical treatment of the disease, both in its terrible and destructive effects on the subjects of it, and the check it has given to its spread even within the twelve months that the hospital has been open for patients. It demands war to the knife against sin and the sinner, —unenquiring condemnation and unpitying punishment. In the meantime government feels its hands strengthened by the approbation of enlightened observers, and by the progress already made in decreasing the power of a scourge which had been steadily decimating its subjects.

But it is to higher influences we must look for the possible salvation and regeneration of the Hawaiian nation. The instrument must clearly be the inculcation of a pure and gentle religion; a holy and exalted doctrine, illustrated and made living by the Christian conduct and self-denying lives of its professors and its teachers. Such influences have already had some weight; but there has been about former efforts of the American missionaries a 'hidden want,' which shows that vital power is lacking, the loving power which works by assimilation,—the leaven which must permeate the mass and take hold of the affections and will of the natives, and convert them not into hypocrites but Christians. Whilst in some districts the more open

forms of vice have been abolished, and some of the wasting sins which have been alluded to have almost entirely vanished, the bulk of the people are Christians only in name. Independents and Romanists frankly avow the smallness of their success in producing a vital change. There remains for trial the efforts of the English Church. We wait to see what may be the effect on the Hawaiian mind of the beauty of her holiness, which has usually been made more conspicuous and intense in missionary spheres. That religion which bears on its credentials that it is pure, must also show itself gentle. It is not the rod of the avenger, but the staff of the shepherd, which will reclaim the sheep that have wandered, and guard and lead the lambs of the flock. Barnabas may prevail where Boanerges is powerless.

To take the young Hawaiian girls at an age so early that even they have not been contaminated, to keep them as in a parental home, to watch them by day and night, and screen them from sights and sounds of impurity, to teach them to control transmitted passions, and to fill their minds with interesting subjects of thought, to befriend them always, and finally to see them married respectably—these are the means by which the nation must rise in true morality, and become an increasing people—a high and inspiring task to those who undertake it, and in the hands of some Florence Nightingale an instrument of enormous power: a subject of earnest prayer for those who long for the extension of Christ's kingdom, and for the ingathering of the farthest isles in the day when the great trumpet is blown. The painter or the sentimentalist may exclaim against this change of natural habit, instincts, picturesque attitude, this assimilation of the wild and

the beautiful to the thoughts, manners, dress, and expression of a hackneyed Europe. Well, something must be sacrificed. We may have to forsake the temple of art, to dwell in the temple of God. Hawaiian maids may be no longer allowed to rise on the traveller's sight from their favourite streams, like laughing naiads; they must be won from the *hula* dance, and led away from every temptation, though at some loss of natural beauty and grace. Clothed, and in a better mind, they may themselves consent, willingly, to abandon tastes and pursuits in which they once rejoiced, to learn a more enduring joy in the narrow but not uncheerful path that leads towards the gates of Heaven. Even the simplicity of their flower-garlands it may be found wise to lay aside, though a sigh follow the long-loved ornament, plucked from Nature's own wardrobe; and a loving regimen may find it necessary to teach the Polynesian girls contentedly to walk discrowned on earth, that hereafter their brows may be wreathed with flowers which cannot wither.



DIAMOND HEAD, HONOLULU.

# CHAPTER XXIV.

## MISSIONARY ACHIEVEMENT AND FAILURE.

CHRISTIANITY has now been on its trial in Hawaii for forty years. During all that time, its exponents have been United States missionaries of the Congregational or Independent denomination. For a quarter of a century the Church of Rome has also had a footing in the islands, and during the last ten years has proselytized with activity, and greatly extended the cords of her tent. The Roman Church, however, dwells in lands foreign to the sway of the Pope, as a body of exiles,—or, rather, as a religious clique, differing somewhat in form, under the atmospheric pressure of Protestant opinion, from the perfect development she exhibits in lands which she calls her own. As she does not exert any direct political influence in the Sandwich Islands, her action is to be regarded rather as a large exception than as an operative rule, and we do not at present concern ourselves, except incidentally, with her communion.

But forty years afford a fair opportunity of observing what life and potentiality there may be in the largest and most forcible form of dissent, unimpeded for the greater part of that time by any rival or antagonist,

and unfettered by any open connection with the State. If the American missionaries have not succeeded in all that they have attempted, or filled the large programme they had sketched, it is nevertheless no small work which they have accomplished in the Hawaiian Archipelago. In an age of 'immeasurable desires and weak volitions' failure and incompleteness are seen around us at every step: and it is with no unfriendly hand that we trace the proceedings of the missionaries, and endeavour to form some estimate of the ultimate effects and capabilities of religion as taught by them and exemplified in their conduct.

We will first listen to their own voice in the summary of their successes given in the Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, published at Boston, Mass., and to the evidence of an impartial observer who lately exercised his intelligent eyes on men and things during two months' wandering through the islands of Hawaii. In recording the impressions of Mr. R. H. Dana, the persons who are responsible for drawing up the above reports have quoted so much of his letters as eulogised the missionaries. We have no right to complain that they omitted further remarks commendatory of the Roman Catholic clergy, and on other important subjects, which would have been unsuitable to the objects of the Report, if not unsatisfactory to the supporters of the mission. To the omitted portions of Mr. Dana's letters we shall have to call attention in the latter part of this chapter.

'Before the introduction of the Gospel,' writes the Report of 1859, 'a feudal despotism held the mass of the people in the most abject bondage. The land all belonged to the King; and all kinds of property, and even life itself, were subject to his

caprice. Under the benign influence of the Gospel a constitutional monarchy has been introduced. Lands have been divided among chiefs and peoples, and a feesimple title given. A liberal constitution and an enlightened system of laws have been adopted. The lower house of the legislature, which meets biennially, is chosen by the universal suffrage of the people. Regular courts of law are established throughout the Islands, with a supreme court at the metropolis. Life and property are as safe as in any nation of the earth. Taxes are light, and the government is administered on just and economical principles. Industry, comfortable houses, a civilised dress, and the other blessings of civilisation follow in the train of these changes. Foreign aid, of various kinds, is called in to help forward this onward progress; but Christianity has been the foundation and support of all these improvements.'

Claiming for Christianity the material prosperity and advancement of the Islands, the Report of 1860 challenges comparison of their condition in the year 1820 and the fortieth year after. In national finance, the public income, in two years ending the 31st March, 1860, was $655,866, and the expenditure $643,088. The imports in the year 1859 were $1,089,660, and the exports $931,329. The judicial statistics show the convictions in 1859 to have been 4,007, exhibiting a decrease of 800 on the previous year. Two-thirds of the entire number of persons convicted were for drunkenness, fornication, and adultery; whilst there were only nine convictions for burglary, and a portion of these may have been foreigners. Attention is called to public improvements, viz., the water-supply of Honolulu, the inter-island steamer, the harbour-dredging, &c. Coming to subjects more cognate to the special work of a religious mission, the income raised by the school-tax in 1859 was $31,491.

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of Free Schools in that year was | 285 |
| The number of scholars | 8628 |
| Schools in which English is taught | 16 |
| Native youths in the latter | 804 |
| White children in school | 190 |
| Mixed children in do. | 166 |
| Total number in the schools | 9782 |

More noticeable, perhaps, is the fact that the Hawaiians are themselves missionaries, and possess a missionary vessel, the 'Morning Star,' which keeps up communication with the stations established in the Marquesan and Micronesian groups, making occasional visits to other islands. The Marquesan mission is supported by the Hawaiian 'churches,' which contributed for the purpose $1,918—the total receipts of the Hawaiian Missionary Society being $3,310. The people are liberal in supporting their ministers and edifices,—very liberal considering their small means. At Lahaina the inhabitants of the town had expended $4,341 in rebuilding their meeting-house.

We turn now to Mr. Dana's excerpted remarks, contained in the Mission Report of 1860, and quote the passage of the report which contains them *in extenso*:—

'It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board,' says a gentleman who visited the Sandwich Islands the past year, and wrote thence, 'that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and to write, to cipher and to sew. They have given them an alphabet, grammar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible, and works of devotion, science, and entertainment, &c. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now the proportion of inhabitants who

can read and write is greater than in New England; and whereas they found these islanders a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannised over by feudal chiefs, and abandoned to sensuality, they now see them decently clothed, recognising the law of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship with more regularity than the people do at home—and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies.'

The gentleman who writes thus is Richard H. Dana, Esq., a respected member of the Episcopal Church, and of the Boston Bar, who describes himself as, in the two months spent in the Islands, 'the guest of many of the mission families, more or less acquainted with nearly all of them.' After commending their hospitality, intelligence, general information, and solicitude for the education of their children, he says:—

'I have seen in their houses collections of minerals, shells, plants, and flowers, which must be valuable to science; and the missionaries have often preserved the best, sometimes the only, records of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and other phenomena, and meteorological observations. Besides having given, as I have said, to the native language an alphabet, grammar, dictionary, and literature, they have done nearly all that has been done to preserve the national traditions, legends, and poetry. But for the missionaries, it is my firm belief that the Hawaiian would never have been a written language; there would have been few or no trustworthy early records, historical or scientific; the traditions would have perished; the native government would have been overborne by foreign influences: and the interesting, intelligent, gentle race would have sunk into insignificance, and perhaps into servitude to the dominant whites.'

The testimony is so explicit that the Committee make further extracts from the letters of Mr. Dana:—

'Among the traders, shipmasters, and travellers who have visited these Islands, some have made disparaging statements respecting the missionaries; and a good deal of imperfect information is carried home by persons who have visited only the half-Europeanised ports, where the worst view of the condition of the natives is presented. I visited among all classes—the foreign merchants, traders and shipmasters, foreign and native officials, and with the natives, from the King and several of his chiefs, to the humblest poor, whom I saw without constraint in a tour I made alone over Hawaii, throwing myself upon their hospitality in their huts. I sought information from all, foreign and native, friendly and unfriendly; and the conclusion to which I came is, that the best men, and those who are best acquainted with the history of things here, hold in high esteem the labours and conduct of the missionaries.

'Doubtless the missionaries have largely influenced the legislation of the kingdom and its police system; it is fortunate they have done so. Influence of some kind was the law of the native development. Had not the missionaries and their friends among the foreign merchants and professional men been in the ascendant, these Islands would have presented only the usual history of a handful of foreigners exacting everything from a people who denied their right to anything. As it is, in no place in the world that I have visited, are the rules which control vice and regulate amusement so strict, yet so reasonable and fairly enforced.

'The Government and the best citizens stand as a good genius between the natives and the besieging army. As to the interior, it is well known that a man may travel alone, with money, through the wildest spots unarmed. Having just come from the mountains of California, I was prepared with the usual and necessary belt and its appendages of that region, but was told that these defences were unheard of in Hawaii. I found no hut without its Bible and hymn-book in the native tongue; and the practice of family-prayer and grace before meat, though it be over no more than a calabash of *poi* and a

few dried fish, and whether at home or on journeys, is as common as in New England a century ago.'

These statements, with those in the Report of last year (which was drawn up by one of the older missionaries, then in this country), contain, doubtless, a correct representation of the results of divine grace at the Sandwich Islands. Yet so imperfect is the language, and so foreign to our experience is the social condition of the Hawaiian people, that it is difficult to convey correct impressions concerning them to untravelled minds. The correspondence between the Prudential Committee and their brethren at those islands on the subject of a native pastorate for the churches now in progress, has called forth some affecting representations concerning that people—enough almost to create a doubt, whether gospel institutions can ever become entirely self-supporting amongst them. The more important parts of this testimony have been published in the 'Missionary Herald.' The testimony, however, is strangely conflicting; and we must suppose, either that the character of the people stands at very different points of elevation, on the scale of moral purity, in different parts of the Islands, or else that the witnesses take too strong views, probably on both sides. It must be admitted, however, that while the Christianization of the Sandwich Islanders is as real as that of any nominally Christian nation in the world—the proofs of a national Christianity being all there—the people must needs be far below the standard of the other Protestant Christian nations, which have been nominally Christian for ages.

Now, we can supplement these statements with data from other sources. The statistics given below are from a government return, and a chief source of their interest lies in comparing the numbers against those of the population. In the non-census years, the number of the people is deduced:—

| Years | Population | Number of Schools | Number of Scholars | Cost of Schools | Average Days each School | Convictions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1845 | . . | 640 | 20,000 | . . | . . | . . |
| 1846 | . . | . . | 18,644 | $20,000 | . . | . . |
| 1847 | . . | 625 | 19,644 | 21,706 | . . | . . |
| 1848 | 87,063 | 527 | 19,028 | 22,319 | 145·8 | . . |
| 1849 | 84,165 | 540 | 15,620 | 21,990 | 164·1 | . . |
| 1850 | 83,988 | 543 | 15,308 | 25,890 | 153·3 | . . |
| 1851 | 80,620 | 535 | 15,482 | 25,271 | 137·8 | . . |
| 1852 | 79,650 | 440 | 13,948 | 24,049 | 30 | 3,043 |
| 1853 | 73,137 | 423 | 12,205 | 20,563 | 127·8 | 3,173 |
| 1854 | 73,079 | 412 | 10,241 | 20,705 | 132·5 | 3,571 |
| 1855 | 73,032 | . . | . . | . . | . . | 4,946 |
| 1856 | 72,740 | 332 | 8,671 | 25,827 | 143 | 3,932 |
| 1857 | 72,338 | 312 | 8,460 | 27,578 | 164 | 4,007 |
| 1858 | 71,954 | 293 | 8,628 | 29,215 | 192 | . . |
| 1859 | 71,275 | 289 | 8,628 | 34,165 | 179 | . . |

And we select from the answers given to Mr. Wyllie's questions these replies, which speak greatly in favour of the missionaries :—

Question 54. *What fees, if any, are charged, either by Protestants or Catholics, for baptisms, funerals, or marriages?*

Answer. No fees have ever been charged, and no gifts are received in this district by Protestants for any of these services (*Hilo*, Hawaii); and the only exception in the answers to this question is, that a small fee or present (half-a-dollar) is received, sometimes, when a marriage is performed in a private house.

Question 56. *What, if any, sources of jealousy exist between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries and teachers?*

Answer. None of a personal nature exist.

Question 57. *Suggestions to promote mutual concord and charity?*

Answer. A free and full declaration of religious sentiments on the part of each is not inconsistent with the most enlarged Christian charity. The only suggestions, therefore, to be offered are, that free toleration of sentiments be allowed, and a truly evangelical course pursued in propagating doctrine, and

that urbanity and Christian kindness characterise every movement in personal intercourse.

And now, possibly, some will ask, in respect to the American missionaries, what lack they yet?—what are the faults they can be charged with? and, if these be their successes, what, and to what extent, are their failures?

To such questions we offer a candid and impartial reply. The missionaries have not attained the measure of success which might have been expected from the long and strenuous efforts they have made. They have not truly Christianized or regenerated the nation Their proceedings have been attended with grave and obvious faults. They have been wrong in their presentment of Christianity to the native mind. They have presented Christianity as a severe, legal, Jewish religion, deprived of its dignity, beauty, tenderness, and amability. They have not made the people love religion. Like the Jewish Law, their system has been the office of a pedagogue leading children to the school of Christ; but the scholars have attended His porch reluctantly, and have gladly escaped from His teaching. In their rigorous sabbatarian view of the Lord's Day, in their desire to enforce a Maine liquor-law, and in some other matters, they have attempted to infringe on the natural rights of men, and have in native eyes reproduced the detested *tabu* system,—the nightmare from which the nation escaped in 1820.

They have been wrong in their hothouse plan of forcing Christianity on an unprepared people, endeavouring to make them run before they could walk, or even stand alone; pouring water out of buckets on small-mouthed phials; and, by using the means of

secular punishments and espionage, converting the nation into hypocrites instead of Christians. They have been wrong in using their former great influence with the native government, in urging a hard repressive system of legislation. They have been wrong in some of their views of education, especially in setting their face against the teaching of the English language, although they know that the civilisation and the religion of Europe and America cannot be conveyed to the people's mind in the meagre *copia verborum* of the Hawaiian language, which has not words to express ideas of every-day occurrence in the civilised world. They have been wrong—at least they have been unfortunate—in the personal disqualifications of many of their teachers for their task, when so much of a missionary's success depends upon appearance, manner, and knowledge.

They have made, indeed, an essential mistake in their conception of a religion,—producing it in a cold didactic form, with nothing to allure the heart and understanding through the medium of the senses and æsthetic tastes. They have not chosen to see that all religions worthy of the name of systems, combine moral sanctions with an outward worship. At the commencement of the Scriptures we read of sacrifices and altars; and in the Apocalyptic wonders which conclude the inspired Canon, we read of elders and living beings worshipping before God's throne, and the infinite choir of harpers sending forth their everlasting melody.

It must not be supposed that these accusations are gratuitous and unfounded. They are all based on facts contained in many documents, and from the mouths of many witnesses. They lead to the conclusion that religion still waits to be seen in the Hawaiian Islands

in its true colours,—winning, persuasive, holy, and altogether lovely. We proceed to adduce remarks from several late observers.

And first we call the testimony of Mr. Dana himself, whose impartiality we can hardly doubt, after the kind and ample praise he has given of the missionaries, and which we have already quoted. His remarks are contained in a letter to the 'New York Tribune' newspaper. Having spoken of the Congregationalists, he has something to say in commendation of the Roman Catholic clergy:—

I had a letter of introduction to the Roman Catholic Bishop (M. Maigret), and visited several churches and schools under their jurisdiction, which extends over all the islands of the group. So far as I observed, the missions are successful: the churches are well filled, and the priests bear good reputations for fidelity and self-denial, and several whom I met I found to be men of thorough education. They gained, especially in public, esteem by their conduct during the terrible visitation of the smallpox a few years ago.

The minds of the natives of this zone of the globe peculiarly require something to retain their attention and interest. The missionaries have recognised this law in their *schools*, and find it expedient to fix the attention of the scholars in recitation by classes, by responsative and general reading and answers, by the use of figures on black-boards, and by maps and pictures. The only system of worship and discipline which the missionaries have introduced has been that which is known at home as the Puritan or Independent, and in this they have had the field to themselves. The houses of worship are plain naked buildings, with pews and benches and a large desk, in which the preacher, sometimes dressed in the tweed sack-coat of the shop and market (or, as I once saw, with the spurs on his boots), stands to read, preach, and pray. The congregation sit through the whole service, not only never kneeling or standing in prayer, but not even bending the head forward in token of

reverence. The music is solely the singing of one or two rhyming hymns, performed by a small choir. The congregation have no part in the service—they are simply listeners from beginning to end; young or old, learned or unlearned, they are expected to be attentive listeners for some two hours, without a word to say, a thing to do, a sound to utter for themselves. My observation, after attending several places of worship in the principal islands, is that the natives, except there be some stirring passage in the sermon, are languid and easily-distracted listeners and irreverent actors. In their family-worship they kneel, and are more reverent, being left more to their instincts. At public worship they come in at all times, sit, look about, easily fall asleep, and when the last prayer ends, start for the door a good deal as a theatre breaks up—hardly ever waiting for the benediction.

It is not difficult to see the Roman Catholic Church, with its open doors, free sittings, daily mass and vespers, its corps of teaching and visiting nuns, its sacramental system, its worship addressed to the mind and heart through the eye and ear, as well as by the word to the understanding; with its service, which gives a part to all, and especially its system of commemorations, and, in the modern sense, its 'spiritualism' of angels and departed saints, has strongly enlisted the almost vacant native faculties.

As an instance, too, of the power of the accommodation possessed by the Roman Catholics, it is not too small a matter to notice that, while in the open assemblies of the American missionaries, the natives sit on benches in constrained attitudes, and come dressed in imitation of the European fashion, the men in black hats, boots, tight coats and trousers, and the women in out-of-fashion bonnets and unaccustomed shoes,—in the Roman Catholic places of worship, they kneel on mats and chairs, wearing the looser and easier dress of every day—the women with bare heads, and never-failing garlands of flowers and berries; and young men come to the porch in straw hats decked with flowers and green leaves.

The subject has attracted attention in the Islands. I found

that many who agreed with me in a high estimate of the good the missionaries have done, yet felt the defects of the public worship; and one of the missionaries told me he had long thought that changes must be made in their system in the direction of the ritual and liturgy of the English Church.

Then as to internal and external personal qualifications of the American missionaries, as compared with those of the Roman communion, Dr. Rae, in a series of articles published in the 'Polynesian' during 1861, entitled 'Thoughts on the System of Legislation,' says in a footnote:—

I do not recollect having been in any mixed company in these Islands where the subject of the Protestant mission was introduced, without hearing either a sneer, a sarcasm, or a reproach against it. On the other hand, wherever I have been, and with whomsoever I have met, I have never encountered one, except in controversy, who did not speak in terms of respect of the Catholic priesthood. Some have expressed surprise, that men could be found at this time of day thus to sacrifice their lives; some have spoken of their *culte* as savouring of superstition; but all have granted them the praise of sincere self-devotion—all have expressed a desire that their labours might benefit the natives. I simply note a fact—it is for the reader to draw the conclusion.

The same writer, remarking more especially on the hitherto prevalent system of legislation, brought about by the missionaries, says:—

Those in the seat of power will deceive themselves into the belief that their preaching has made true Christians of the whole population, or, at least, that it ought to have done so; and they will proceed to mete out punishments against transgressors of what they conceive to be Christian morality, with all the severity of their fathers in the days of the 'blue laws.' A code of coercive morality will be established, which

would not be submitted to by any European or American community, but which the Hawaiians, accustomed to bend to the will of their superiors, will not *resist*, but will *evade*. From this source a tissue of lying and deception will spring up and spread among them, pushing its poisonous meshes through every household, and everywhere contaminating and destroying the native virtues of the people. For it were altogether a mistake to imagine that virtue—though that virtue may be of the earth earthy—does not exist in this race. They have ever had a right and a wrong—a *pono* and a *pono ole*—no words are more frequent in their mouths; and then their native virtues have hitherto sufficed to give prosperity to the land—to give industry to the man, fecundity to the woman. Destroy them—give nothing better in their place—and you take from their system every sustaining prop, and cause it to fall to the ground in, it may be, irremediable confusion.

Again, in commenting on the Queen's Hospital, the editor of the 'Polynesian,' in an article dated July 6, 1861, writes:—

There is one fact, as revealed by these reports, to which, sad and disgraceful as it is, we must nevertheless call the attention of the civilisers—the instructors and preachers of this people, who think that all morality lies in the Hawaiian spelling-book, and that the principles of civilisation culminate in vulgar fractions; and it is this—that out of the 373 women on the register (of public women), 220 were married women, having lived apart from their husbands for a longer or shorter period, while 23 were actually living with their husbands while professedly leading a life of vice and infamy! How low the moral condition of these people must be, it is fearful to contemplate. What a mockery of the marriage institution! How horribly loose the bonds which sanctify and knit together society! What revolting examples! What hideous prospects for the unhappy children of such unions! We have seen vice and depravity in their most loathsome forms in numerous

other cities; * * * * * * yet never was it known before that two-thirds of the abandoned women in any place were recruited from the marriage-bed. And where are the husbands of these lost ones? We hazard nothing in saying that the greater part are living in adultery with other women. And thus morality is undermined, and society crumbles from its very foundations. And yet we are asked to admire and let alone an educational system, which indirectly does not prevent such results in this people, by leaving the religious instruction of the young heart to the operation of chance or of political convenience; and that too when, as is well known, (and must of necessity be the case with a people so lately emerged from barbarism), an abiding moral sentiment and religious duty are not imbibed with the mother's milk, but must be engrafted on the rising generation, by whatever means, at whatever sacrifice, so great an object may require.

Forty years' assiduous evangelising—two entire generations born and bred in the Christian faith—public schools in every village—religious revivals almost every year—prayer-meetings innumerable,—and yet two-thirds of the abandoned women married persons! The thing is incredible were it not attested. And when we remonstrate against such a state of things, we are called a 'crazy fanatic,' and coolly told that 'the gradual change of time' will repair all present ills:—in the grave, we surmise.

We need not pursue such testimony. Religion as taught by the American missionaries, zealously, fiercely, has hitherto failed to affect the hearts of the mass. Many superior natives have doubtless submitted themselves earnestly to the yoke, and a few guileless Nathaniels may be reckoned among ten thousands of professors; but the national morality is not what it should be,—the nation is not regenerated.

Estranged for many years from, or originally ignorant of, the old paths of established religion, the missionaries

have committed mistakes, which, though lamentable, may be pardonable in those who made them. No wonder that the Roman Church saw an opportunity in this failure, and succeeded in winning a large proportion of the people to her banner. It is true that the natives were perplexed at the entire difference between two religions, each of which called itself by the name of Christ; and, in the homage paid before images of the Virgin and the Saviour, thought they saw a return to their old idolatry. But they felt the attractiveness of the forms of worship, and they felt relief at a system of dependence on a conscience not their own.

> Obedience, says Sir James Stephen, prompt, absolute, blind and unhesitating . . . such submission, however arduous in appearance, is, in reality, the least irksome of all self-sacrifices. The mysterious gift of freewill is the heaviest burthen of the vast multitude of mankind. . . . Men everywhere desire to walk by sight, not by faith—to obey the stern command of a superior, if so they may be absolved from listening to the still small voice of conscience—to bear the yoke of spiritual bondage, if so they may escape the fatigue of study, the labour of meditation, the pains of doubt, and the anxieties of mental freedom.*

Well, the missionaries have made many mistakes, and not among the least is the impatience they have shown for rapid and immense results. But forty missionary families, even if no earthly interest ever attracted them, are not numerous enough to convert a heathen nation in forty years to an all-permeating Christianity. To bring up a couple of children as true Christians may well, and almost exclusively, occupy many years of their parents' lives; and can the most zealous religionist hope that partial efforts on 80,000 human beings, surrounded

* Essays. 'Founders of Jesuitism.'

by many temptations, should be crowned with a so much larger and more rapid success? The mistake of the missionaries was a very common one—they were treating symptoms instead of the disease. Outward acts, which were but eruptive indications of the inward ailment, they sought to get rid of by a severe repressive hygiene. The disease under which the patient suffered was one of the heart—and the heart they had not touched, and scarcely prescribed for. Yet, had this charge been made against the missionaries, they would possibly have replied, indignantly, that they had gone to the fountain-head of all cure; that they had taught the Hawaiians the highest heights of theology; that they had set before them the doctrines of the Trinity, Justification, Original Sin, and that great mystery, which

> '—binding Nature fast in Fate,
> Left free the human will.'

Alas! between that transcendental teaching and the actual workings of a depraved nature, there was a great chasm which their doctrine did not bridge over. A more simple and parental education was required—line upon line and precept upon precept, but patiently and lovingly applied, and dropped like the gentle dew from heaven. As the angler casts his fly delicately upon the water, watches, waits, withdraws it, and throws it again, so the fisher of souls must by many tentative essays perseveringly strive to catch men. Men will not be driven into Christianity like sheep into a pen; and the human heart refuses to be transformed by enactments, penalties, and imprisonments. Of means within our own power for religious advancement, the contemplation of examples is the most certain and the most powerful—to gaze on holiness in fellow-men, and, most of all, to gaze upon the Prince of Purities, until He becomes in

our eyes 'fairest among ten thousand and altogether lovely.' 'It is the burthen of Xavier's letters,' writes Sir James Stephen, 'that the living exhibition of the Christian character is the first great instrument of Christian conquest over idolatry, and that the inculcation of elementary truth is the second.'

# CHAPTER XXV.

## GLANCES AT THE PAST AND GUESSES AT THE FUTURE.

THE day upon which Hawaii has entered is one in which the light is neither clear nor dark. She ranks among the family of nations, as the last baby in a household, when it can speak and run, is gradually admitted into the companionship and games of its brothers and sisters. The isolation of her position in the centre of the ocean gives a special value and interest to the group, but leaves it open to every assailant that chooses to bring a frigate's broadside to bear on the capital. Her defences must be the equal treaties of other nations, supported by mutual jealousies, rather than the sixty guns of the forts of Honolulu. But treaties, even, will not guard her from the testy act of one foreign government in the absence of the others' ships of war, or from piratical and filibustering expeditions. Like the midnight pull at the house-bell, the annoyer will have vanished before the arrival of the police, and the whole strength of a division will not repair the injury done to the nerves of the disturbed inmates.

Under the guarantee of America, France, and England, writes Sir George Simpson, referring to the period of his visit (1843), the Sandwich Islands are secured as effectually as any other community against foreign interference, excepting that,

from their position and the inexperience of their rulers, they are peculiarly liable to come into collision with the very powers that have guaranteed their independence. Their position alone, with respect to the trading interests of England and America, will render neutrality extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, in the melancholy event of a war between those kindred states; while any infringement of the law of nations in this respect will be sure to lead to the occupation of the group on the part of England, either as the avenger of her own wrongs, or as a protector against the vengeance of America. But, unlike this occasional danger, the inexperience of their rulers is a rock on which they may be dashed at any time with fatal effect; and within these few short years the cause in question has placed the native government at the mercy both of France and of England.

During the progress of the Crimean war, the possible extension of which was uncertain, the King, Kamémaméha III. issued a proclamation of neutrality, with a prohibition to his subjects to engage, directly or indirectly, in privateering. Such a step may be cynically compared to the frogs in the fable protesting against the battle of the bulls. Admitting the similitude, it must be granted that the danger which threatened the Hawaiian kingdom from an European war was that which the frogs deprecated, and theirs was a situation in which insignificance would not act as a safeguard.

On the breaking out of hostilities between the states of North America, a similar manifesto was issued. The proclamation is as follows:—

KAMEHAMEHA IV., KING OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Be it known to all whom it may concern, that we, Kamémaméha IV., King of the Hawaiian Islands, having been officially notified that hostilities are now unhappily pending between the Government of the United States and certain

states thereof styling themselves 'The Confederate States of America,' hereby proclaim our neutrality between said contending parties.

That our neutrality is to be respected to the full extent of our jurisdiction, and that all captures and seizures made within the same are unlawful, and in violation of our rights as a sovereign.

And be it further known, that we hereby strictly prohibit all our subjects, and all who reside or may be within our jurisdiction, from engaging, either directly or indirectly, in privateering against the shipping or commerce of either of the contending parties, or of rendering any aid to such enterprises whatever; and all persons so offending will be liable to the penalties imposed by the laws of nations, as well as by the laws of said states; and they will in nowise obtain any protection from us as against any penal consequence which they may incur.

Be it further known, that no adjudication of prizes will be entertained within our jurisdiction, nor will the sale of goods or other property belonging to prizes be allowed.

Be it further known, that the rights of asylum are not extended to the privateers or their prizes of either of the contending parties, excepting only in cases of distress or of compulsory delay by stress of weather or dangers of the sea, or in such cases as may be regulated by treaty stipulation.

Given at our Marine Residence of Kailua, this 26th day of August, A.D. 1861, and the Seventh of Our Reign.

KAMEHAMEHA.

By the King, KAAHUMANU.

By the King and Kuhina Nui,

R. C. Wyllie.

The 'Polynesian,' the government organ, in repeating the foregoing proclamation, remarks:—

To proclaim neutrality, however, is one thing, and to enforce it is another. Strong and powerful governments are

seldom imposed upon in this respect; and when they are, they right themselves as the occasion may call for,—as the United States did in the Anglo-French war with Russia, when they sent the English Minister his passports for violating the neutrality of their country. But weak and small powers may not always be in a position to repel or resent an infraction of their neutrality. Still, if they have done their best, and shown a proper disposition and spirit, there is no doubt that, in justice and international law and equity, the *will* will be taken for the deed, and such a power be held guiltless in the eyes of the world.*

If, therefore, whilst the Hawaiian kingdom labours for peace, other nations make them ready to battle, the fault does not lie at the door of the former. Peace, with all its arts and advancements, the gentle plants that flourish in its soil, is unmistakeably the boon for which Hawaii must earnestly pray; but it requires all the prudence of her rulers to avoid stepping on the corns or the gout of the nationalities with which she is brought into close contact. And for the eventualities of private invasion there can be no guarantee. Upon two occasions already this danger has threatened. The first of these is thus announced in the King's speech of the 13th of April, 1852:—

The peace of my kingdom has been threatened with an invasion of private adventurers from California. An appeal was made to the United States' Commissioners, which, being promptly acted upon by Captain Gardner, of the United States' ship 'Vandalia,' tranquillized the public mind. I have taken some measures to create a military force. * * * * Such a force is considered indispensable, to enable me to protect efficiently the lives and property of all who live under

* 'Polynesian,' Sept. 14, 1861.

my dominion. It will be for you to provide the means of maintaining such a force permanently, so as that the very defencelessness of my kingdom may not invite the evil-disposed to invade it.

On the second occasion of danger the King issued a proclamation—the last made before his death:—

Whereas, it has come to my knowledge from the highest official sources, that my government has been recently threatened with overthrow by lawless violence; and, whereas, the representatives at my Court of the United States, Great Britain, and France, being cognizant of these threats, have offered me the prompt assistance of the naval forces of their respective countries; I hereby publicly proclaim my acceptance of the aid thus proffered in support of my sovereignty. My independence is more firmly established than ever before.

KAMEHAMEHA.

Palace, 8th December, 1854.

Reading the future by the past, the necessity for keeping up some military defences and a small standing army seems to be established. The very efficient volunteer rifle corps, now of several years' standing, and a considerable body of police, render a large number of regular troops unnecessary. The inherent courage of the race would, with a very little preparation, offer a strong resistance to attempts of violence.

In the contest of progress in the arts and civilization, the monarchs of the dynasty of Kaméhaméha have shown themselves determined not to be kings of Colophonia. Indeed, their avid adoption of the luxuries and etiquette of European nations appeared for many years precocious and disproportioned to the general state of the nation. The passion of the chiefs for European luxuries was remarked by Beechey when he visited the islands in 1827, and was the more extraordinary at that

time in a nation which had so lately emerged from barbarism. He mentions that articles of American manufacture, the productions of the China market, wines, &c., were found in the stores or shops of Honolulu. There were at that period two hotels and two billiard rooms. Kaahumanu's house was furnished with silk and velvet sofas and cushions. She had chests filled with the most costly silks of China. The chief Boki paid three thousand dollars for a service of plate to be presented to the King, notwithstanding he had other services for the table in his possession, one of which was of expensive cut glass from Pellatt and Green in London. The King was always attended by a guard under arms. Admiral Beechey remarks on the unusual advance which had been made in the islands so remote and holding so little intercourse with the civilized world, and he expresses a hope that it may not prove too rapid to be advantageous to the country, which had already several expensive establishments to maintain and extravagant ideas to satisfy.* In education he thought the progress slower 'than every well-wisher of the country could desire. . . . Many of the natives remain ignorant even of the nature of the prayers they repeat; and in other subjects are entirely uninstructed. The missionaries appear to be very anxious to diffuse a due knowledge of the tenets of the Gospel among all the inhabitants, and have laboured much to accomplish their praiseworthy purpose; but the residents in Honolulu well know what little effect their exertions have produced, probably on account of the tutors having mistaken the means of diffusing education. In the Sandwich Islands, as in all other places, there is a mania

* 'Voyage of the "Blossom,"' ii. 97, et seq.

for everything new, and, with due reverence to the subject, this was very much the case with religion in Honolulu, where almost every person might be seen hastening to the school with a slate in his hand, in the hope of being able soon to translate some part of the *pala pala* (Scriptures).' At a later period the adoption of the code of etiquette of Vienna showed 'an unbounded stomach' to rank with old and advanced nations. The method and language of the diplomatic correspondence of the Hawaiian government has called forth expressions of surprise and praise in Paris. At the present time, crinoline is as expansive, rooms as well lighted, evening assemblies and morning picnics as agreeable, and beauty probably more abundant in Honolulu than in London and other capitals. Whether these things are desirable is another matter. Older civilizations, those which eventually enlarged themselves and became permanent, began in a hardy plainness, and slowly 'degreed themselves' in conveniences and luxury. Marco Polo found the nomadic population of Tartary using paper-money. This prophetic dash at currency science has not made the hordes advance in other respects. The iron money of Sparta was perhaps as desirable in her early days as if her sons had carried about notes issued by the bank of Lacedæmon. Indeed, restraint is necessary even in national progress, lest a spurious and showy external cover a low and inchoate civilization in essential things. To desire to advance in arts and politeness is good, but the feet must not run as fast as the aspirations.

Were the crawling caterpillar to feel within himself the wings that are to be, and to be haunted with the intuitive forebodings of the time when he shall hover above flowers and meadows, and expatiate in heavenly air—yet the wisdom of

that caterpillar would be to remember his present business on the leaf—to feed on green herbs and weave his nest, lest, losing himself in dreams, he should never become a winged insect at all.*

The advance of national prosperity, as indicated by income and expenditure, has been, on the whole, satisfactory. It is an undisputed fact that commerce is in every country subject to fluctuations, and that its periods of exaltation and depression have something of the regularity of cycles. It is wise, therefore, not to overestimate the permanence of high activity, or to despair when the tide runs out, as if it never would return. But these violent fluctuations have their use in throwing commercial energy into new directions. The Hawaiian Islands had grown to depend too exclusively on the great North Pacific whaling fleet. In providing meat, vegetables, and some other articles for the whalers, ready markets were found on its shores, and the activity of the people for good and for evil was on the surface of the islands, whilst interior resources were much neglected. The whales, thinking that fishing had been carried to fanaticism, or from other motives, began, several years ago, to forsake their habitat. Disappointment and loss to those engaged in the pursuit was the consequence, and year after year the trade of Hawaii declined. The tables of imports and exports show a corresponding diminution in their figures; and as the scarcity of whales appears to have become permanent, some of the business houses have withdrawn from the islands; the fine herds on the pastures are comparatively worthless, and are being replaced with sheep, rice, and other sources of wealth. Things are in a

* Robertson's Lectures on Corinthians.

state of transition, painful at the moment, but fraught with future benefit. If the Hawaiians resolutely turn their faces inland, and 'develope the resources of their islands,' the present pinch will do more for their eventual prosperity, and effect more moral change, than if the whales had laid their prejudices aside and had continued to be caught in greater numbers than before.

The following Table of revenue and expenditure between the years 1845 and 1860 exhibits a fair fiscal progress; not indeed uniform, but, on the contrary, indicating one or two panic years, with a consequent sudden fluctuation. The last two biennial periods show that the decrease of whaling success was telling upon the commercial prosperity of the islands.

The imports, as far as they depend on home consumption, have been no doubt affected, also, by the decay of the population; but the degree to which the defect in numbers has acted cannot be so well ascertained, because although the people have been, till lately, decreasing, new customers among the islands have been brought into contact with foreign productions by the opening of roads and facilities for inter-island communication. There is a great deal of locomotive activity among the Hawaiians. Thus in the first nine months of 1861, 5,093 passengers arrived at Honolulu by sailing vessels, and 3,762 by steamer, making together 8,855 passengers. As an equal number may be supposed to have left the capital in the same time, the entire number of passengers during the three first quarters of the year will be 17,716, or nearly one-fourth of the population. During the same period 489 persons arrived at Honolulu from abroad, and as many left. This internal communication is likely to increase, and another steamer is intended to commence running among the islands.

*Table of Public Income and Expenditure in the Hawaiian Islands, from the year* 1845 *to* 1860 *inclusive.*

| Year | Foreign Imposts | Internal Commerce (Excise) | Internal Taxes | Total Revenue from all Sources | Expenditure |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1845 | . . | . . | . . | $138,352·44 | $138,352·44 |
| 1846 | . . | $75,947·08 | . . | 153,242·20 | . . . |
| 1847 | $51,144·42 | 12,353·80 | $27,638·42 | 196,751·34 | 161,678·91 |
| 1848 | . . | . . | . . | 215,430·42 | 183,546·63 |
| 1849 | . . | . . | . . | 166,286·41 | 166,480·20 |
| 1850 | . . | . . | . . | 301,576·61 | 179,034·34 |
| 1851 | 118,901·38 | 22,514·75 | 52,455·26 | 330,546·03 | 250,707·56 |
| 1852 | 140,131·79 | 25,194·49 | 57,360·16 | 385,993·95 | 330,408·67 |
| 1852 / 1853 (from 1st March 1852 to 1st Jan. 1853) | 68,699·72 | 22,065·14 | 38,117·93 | 234,169·44 | 224,272·77 |
| 1853 / 1854 (from 1st Jan. 1853 to 1st Jan. 1854) | 139,457·59 | 26,769·85 | 43,033·18 | 336,386·77 | 265,195·36 |
| 1854 / 1855 (from 1st Jan. 1854 to 1st Jan. 1855) | 135,797·30 | 35,157·50 | 45,057·58 | 393,984·75 | 339,647·67 |
| 1855 / 1856 (from 1st Jan. 1855 to 1st Jan. 1856) | 146,171·17 | 37,766·47 | 83,579·27 | 473,565·34 | 424,778·24 |
| 1856 / 1858 (from 1st Jan. 1856 to April 1858) . . | 231,201·23 | 63,471·53 | 134,306·09 | 667,138·03 | 666,788·79 or 296,350·57 pr. An. |
| 1858 / 1860 (from 31st March 1858 to 31st March 1860 | 213,209·08 | 62,528·26 | 108,841·85 | 656,215·92 | 643,088·40 or 321,544·20 pr. An. |

In a former chapter a table of population was given, with deduced numbers for those years in which no census was taken; those figures lead to the inference that the downward progress of the people has at last ceased, and that the coming years may present more cheering results.*

The following Tables exhibit the import trade of the Sandwich Islands in the years 1845 to 1859, and the shares which the several nations have contributed with whom there has been a direct trade:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Value of Imports in | 1845 | $546,939 |
| ,, ,, | 1846 | 598,391 |
| ,, ,, | 1847 | 710,143 |
| ,, ,, | 1848 | 605,114 |
| ,, ,, | 1849 | 729,734 |
| ,, ,, | 1850 | 1,035,053 |
| ,, ,, | 1851 | 1,791,080 |
| ,, ,, | 1852 | 619,635 |
| ,, ,, | 1853 | 1,375,130 |
| ,, ,, | 1854 | 1,540,697 |
| ,, ,, | 1855 | 1,334,430 |
| ,, ,, | 1856 | 1,118,614 |
| ,, ,, | 1857 | 873,134 |
| ,, ,, | 1858 | 759,383 |
| ,, ,, | 1859 | 1,173,366 |

Participation of foreign nations in the direct import trade during the same period:—

| | |
|---|---|
| America (United States): Atlantic and Pacific ports | $8,635,405 |
| Great Britain: British ports and colonies | 2,897,380 |
| France: French ports direct | 71,937 |

* It is quite certain that population will increase in the direction of half-breeds, of fairer skin than their mothers,—but whether with higher virtues remains to be tested. The half-blood race in Mexico has certainly not led to the conclusion of great good arising from human hybridizing; but the future is all uncertain. Strange things have happened, and do happen, and in the last twelve months a mule has given birth to a fine foal in the islands. (1862.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bremen | $422,441 |
| Chili | 521,631 |
| Central America | 4,593 |
| China | 995,734 |
| Fanning's Island | 8,882 |
| Hamburg | 378,105 |
| Kamschatka and Sitka | 53,863 |
| Mexico | 70,768 |
| Philippine Islands | 109,145 |
| Society Islands | 106,693 |
| Sea. Whalers; and from other Ports | 530,377 |
| Japan | 1,108 |
| Peru | 175 |
| Ascension Island | 220 |
| Jarvis's Island | 1,421 |
| Marquesas Islands | 15 |
| French Frigate Shoals | 955 |
| M'Kean's Island | 55 |
| Total | $14,810,843 |

In 1864, the value of imports was $1,712,241, and the value of exports, including supplies to whalers, was $1,113,329.

The principal article on which the excess is found, is sugar, of which 4,649 tons were exported in 1864, against 1,065 tons in 1861. Increased attention has been paid to rice, and a considerable quantity of land has been thrown into its cultivation. Its quality is said to be equal to the finest Carolina. The sugar and coffee also grown in Hawaii are of very fine quality. The coffee plantations had suffered for several successive years very greatly from the blight which infests the plants in Ceylon, called the white and the black bug. The last accounts from the islands bring the intelligence that the coffee crop is again improving, new trees having been planted. The young trees do not suffer so readily from the blight; and as there is abundance of land applicable to coffee growing, a succession of young crops

may probably be resorted to, till the scourge has been eradicated from the old trees by running sheep among them, thinning plantations, and other experimental means.

Coffee and sugar, then, with wool and hides, may be set down as the great future staples of the islands. The sugar cane, says a very late observer, continues to grow for two years, and attains a size which is almost incredible. The quantity raised per acre is about two tons; but four and even six tons have often been obtained. As labour, including the labourer's food, costs only eight dollars per month, and as the sugar commands in the San Francisco market eight and nine cents per pound (fourpence and fourpence-halfpenny), the profit on this article is very great. Tobacco, though it grows freely, is affected, apparently, by the nature of the soil, and its quality is not so good as to promise great or profitable results for its cultivation.

The indigo plant, which is indigenous and exists as a troublesome and ineradicable weed over the islands, will probably prove of greater importance. Knowledge and capital are required for utilizing this valuable plant, and those are advantages which the coming years must bring with them.

Cotton, the watchword of the day, is beginning to receive attention. The natives inhabiting the district of Kau, Hawaii, are planting cotton extensively on their mountain side, and it flourishes admirably. Some specimens which have been sent to England are pronounced equal in quality to 'Sea-island' cotton.

Silk is cultivated in small quantities. The *morus papyrifera* abounds in parts of the islands. From the native grapes a fair wine is made. The proof of wine is in the drinking; and none has yet reached this country.

Some beautiful woods adapted for cabinet-making grows in the forests. Specimens have been received of articles made of the *Koa* and *Kou* wood. It was hoped that these woods would form part of the products shown at the International Exhibition of 1862; and at the same time that there would be exhibited the magnetic sand, and the substance called *pulu*: as it proved, unfortunately, no Hawaiian products were received in time for exhibition.

I append here the Report made to the English Foreign Office by Mr. Consul-General Synge, on the trade of Hawaii, and presented to Parliament in July 1865.

The official returns of the Collector of Customs, giving the whole commercial statistics of this kingdom for the year 1864, and a comparative statement of trade in each year from 1846 to 1864 inclusive, exhibit a very marked increase in the trade of these islands. The export of sugar, which was 3,005,603 lbs. in 1862, and 5,292,121 lbs. in 1863, rose to 10,414,441 lbs. in 1864.

New plantations are being constantly started, and the export of sugar this year is expected to be far larger than the last, whilst the area of land still untouched by cultivation, but capable of profitably producing sugar, is supposed to be ten to twenty times the quantity non-yielding.

In view of these statistics and my general knowledge of the country, I think it my duty to state my belief that the importance of the Sandwich Islands as a producing and trading country has been much underrated; and that, with a continuance of the same good government and security which is now enjoyed, it will rapidly take rank as the West Indies of the North Pacific Ocean.

By far the largest trade is now and has for some time been done with San Francisco, which is the nearest market for our productions, and also the most convenient port whence to obtain our manufactures, goods, provisions, &c. A competition

for a portion of this trade has, however, recently sprung up, viz., the British port of Victoria, Vancouver's Island. The imports thence, which, in 1862, were only 4,672 dollars 22 cents, rose in 1863 to 32,210 dollars 52 cents, and in 1864 to 54,153 dollars 47 cents. The larger proportion of these values consisted of British products and manufactures.

This trade, only recently commenced, must continue to increase very rapidly if Victoria preserve her free port system, as the high rates of duty on imports into San Francisco will tell very seriously against the latter port, especially when the market of Victoria grows larger.

The system of bonding goods in San Francisco, although a palliative, I am given to understand by merchants here, does not at all offer the advantages to commerce which are presented by the total absence of duties at Victoria; and I believe that it only requires time for the development of Victoria as a free depôt for British manufactures to transfer a very large proportion of the trade of the Sandwich Islands now enjoyed by foreign countries, merchants, and vessels, to that British colony, and to British merchants and vessels.

In view, therefore, of the probable very rapid increase and future value of the trade of this kingdom, I beg to call your Lordship's attention to the importance to British interests, as well as to those of the Sandwich Islands, of preserving, if possible, the port of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, a perfectly free one.

The people here being so much occupied with sugar, which has been proved to answer, have not paid much attention to cotton, the result of which, when planted on a large scale, is yet problematical; but recently the Peruvian cotton-plant has been found to thrive and produce so well, that it is very likely some plantations on a respectable scale will shortly be attempted.

A great assistance to British commerce with these islands would be a screw-steamer or steam clipper between this and Panama direct; and I believe a very moderate subsidy for carrying the mails would induce merchants here to place

one on this route. By connecting with the West India line for passengers, and with the Liverpool screw-steamers for cargo, a considerable traffic might be expected.

When it is remembered that the commerce and the productions of the volcanic island of Mauritius, in the same latitude south that these islands are north, are, at the present day, nearly thirty times greater than those of the Sandwich Islands, whilst the latter have several times greater area and available land, as well as greater diversity of climate and resources, it will readily be seen what an opening is presented for future commerce, and how valuable this trade may become to Great Britain, especially if a British free port be preserved so near to us as Victoria, Vancouver's Island.

On the whole, the future looks smiling as to the commercial and, consequently, the fiscal, prosperity of the islands. Even the right whales appear to be returning to their old haunts, and though during the past autumn season the number of vessels engaged in fishing has been greatly reduced, the average of results is materially higher. It is not desirable, however, that after a temporary suffering from the falling off of this trade, the energy which has been thrown into internal resources and industry should be checked, or again largely diverted to the more transient and often hurtful trade of the coasts and extremities of the country. The national revenue has suffered, and it may be some years before internal production will replace the immediate income derived from customs, duties, &c. Having this state of things in view, the government have wisely determined to make large reductions in every branch of public expenditure capable of contraction: and while they are thus endeavouring to meet the times, the outer public, on its part, urges the necessity for economy. The avoidance of public debt is the more important in

a country of high interest. The use of money commands from one per cent. per month to twenty per cent. per annum, and even higher rates of interest. The following table, showing the fluctuations of interest from 1846 to 1860, was prepared by the registrar of public deeds and conveyances:—

MINIMUM *and* MAXIMUM RATES OF INTEREST *on Promissory Notes, secured by Bond and Mortgage.*

| | Minimum Rate | | | Maximum Rate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1846 . . | 0.5 | per cent. | per month | 1 | per cent. | per month |
| 1847 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 1 | ,, | ,, |
| 1848 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 1·5 | ,, | ,, |
| 1849 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 2 | ,, | ,, |
| 1850 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 4·5 | ,, | ,, |
| 1851 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 5 | ,, | ,, |
| 1852 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 3 | ,, | ,, |
| 1853 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 2 | ,, | ,, |
| 1854 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 3 | ,, | ,, |
| 1855 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 5 | ,, | ,, |
| 1856 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 3 | ,, | ,, |
| 1857 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 4 | ,, | ,, |
| 1858 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 2 | ,, | ,, |
| 1859 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 2·5 | ,, | ,, |
| 1860 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 1 | ,, | ,, |
| 1861 . . | 1 | ,, | ,, | 1·25 | ,, | ,, |

With regard to journalistic literature in the islands, the 'Polynesian' ceased to be a government institution, and in 1864 was allowed to expire. Its place has been taken by the 'Hawaiian Gazette,' as the semi-official organ of government. 'The Commercial Advertiser' continues to reflect in strong colours the views of the American missionary party, and constitutes itself 'His Majesty's opposition.' 'The Friend,' an interesting monthly periodical advocating missionary principles, has entered on its twenty-third volume. The 'Hae Hawaii' and another small paper in the native language circulate

amongst the people; and a new journal of more ambitious pretensions and of more enlarged views has just been started, also in native, under the name of the *Hoku o Ka Pakipika*—'The Star of the Pacific.'

On a retrospect of the moral changes which have taken place in the Hawaiian people, we are struck with the extreme vigour with which, in the year 1820, the nation liberated itself from the thraldom of an ancient and universal idolatry. It was an act which stands alone upon the page of history. The whole transaction remains—

> 'A truth so strange, 'twere bold to think it true,
> If not still bolder far to disbelieve.'

The overthrow of idolatry shows that the Hawaiian race possesses not only great energy of character but some unusual idiosyncrasies, capable of being turned to bad or good account. There was a dumb and sceptical reasoning going on in the popular mind about their pantheon, its worthlessness, its falsity. The system was withering in their estimation, and required but a spark to enkindle it with a destructive fire, in which it was consumed with the rapidity of a heap of crackling thorns and dry leaves. Then their hatred to it as a system broke out again, and the unutterable groanings which their spirits had been subject to under the oppression of priestcraft, and especially the *tabu* institution, found a voice in action. With regard to idolatry itself, whatever may have been the best aspect of paganism, seen in the halo of Grecian art and intellectual cultivation, with uncivilized peoples it always takes the form of a cruel and bloodthirsty system. The King of Dahomy, who sacrifices two thousand victims at once as a holocaust to his deceased father; the Tahitian king,

who was accustomed to tread on the warm bodies of slain men each time he landed on any of his islands; and the mis-shapen idol Pelé of the Hawaiians, to which rites of blood were performed, are among the instances of this general tendency. In Hawaii it has been seen that the whole structure fell to pieces at the first glimmering approach, the faintest twilight rays of Christianity and mental enlightenment,—or rather, before the watching eye could detect in the sky any beams of the Sun of Righteousness. The trooping ghosts were ready to retire and crouch in their congenial darkness.

Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον.

The change of character produced by the abolition of idolatry, and the reception of Christian truths imperfectly understood, and Christian practice imperfectly accepted as it was, was marked and wonderful. From a fierce people delighting in war, the Hawaiians became gentle and peaceable; their very countenance softened in expression, and hospitality and kind affections sprang up vigorously throughout the islands. It was not, however, that the people became saints or sages. Their hearts were not the *rasa tabula* which the religious theorist so earnestly desires. They were pages scribbled over with many evil and stubborn lines which had first to be erased. But still there is something very hopeful in that mixed character. The Hawaiians are not dull and torpid; and they can love;—that is something. Let it be seen what will be the effect upon the nation at large as the services and teaching of the Church are generally extended among them; services that have a warmth in them; which give the worshippers a part to take; that symbolize with decent forms and sympathetic

attitudes the humiliation, the gratitude, the praise, the petition, as they come in their oft-repeated round. Let it be seen what the effect upon their minds will be when gathered within the walls of a temple solemn yet cheerful, cared for, but accessible to all at all times—a church in which art walks as the handmaid of religion, and never arrogates to herself the higher place. Let them mingle their voices with the diapasons of the organ; let them hear the invitation of the bell as it chimes its gracious welcome. Let spire, and cross, and ornate doorway be there, and a meaning be set on each part, till the people come to love the gift which this country is prepared to make them, and say of their Church, 'This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven!'

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As the preceding account of the resources and trade of Hawaii was going to press, I received the commercial statistics for the year 1865, and they show a large advance in production and general prosperity. The quantity of sugar exported had increased to 15,318,097 lbs. (6,838 tons), or nearly 50 per cent. more than the previous year. Coffee 263,705 lbs., or five times the growth of 1864. The total exports in 1865 were in value $1,569,894, against $1,113,329 in 1864, an excess of nearly 30 per cent. It is a significant fact in favour of the internal prosperity of the islands that the imports remained the same as the year before, and they now exceed the exports by less than two millions of dollars. The cultivation of cotton is quite recent in the islands, and is yet in its infancy. In 1864, about a ton weight of cotton, of fine quality, had been shipped; in 1865, 11,750 lbs. were exported, or nearly four times the

quantity. The Custom-house receipts for the last year were $192,566; showing an enlargement of upwards of thirty-three thousand dollars compared with the preceding period.

The value of real estate had shown a corresponding rise; and in some districts the value of land had doubled itself in the twelve months.

A line of Steamers has just been established between California and the Islands; and the first vessel of the California Steam Navigation Company, the 'Ajax,' has arrived with a hearty welcome, at Honolulu. The Hawaiian Steam Company is taking measures to keep up a more rapid and constant inter-island communication with their boats.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### KALELEO-KA-LANI; 'THE FLIGHT OF THE CHIEF.'

THE dynasty of Kaméhaméha seemed firmly established. The royal stirps had taken root, and was bearing noticeable fruit. Four kings of the name had occupied the time from 1782 to 1862, i.e. eighty years; which in a country not famous for longevity was in itself a remarkable circumstance. And there was yet a grandson of the first Kaméhaméha, under thirty years of age, the elder brother of the King, on whom the government would devolve in failure of the direct heir, the young Prince of Hawaii.

The feeling of the people towards the Prince Royal was already love and pride, rather than hope. They had him in possession, so that hope seemed to have no proper place in their hearts. For hope differs from love in this respect, that, even when perfect, hope does not cast out fear, and hath torment—sometimes unutterable; and her heaven has always, somewhere, its threatening cloud.

Nor was it alone to his people that the boy prince was an object of great interest. All foreigners in the islands or elsewhere who wished well to Hawaii, and were led from any circumstance to watch her efforts towards advancement, saw in the youthful successor of the fourth Kaméhaméha the laying of another stone on the

foundation, and a further gage of stability to the kingdom. Inherited rights are a chain which gains strength by every link added. The faults of a father are not generally visited, in this case, on the son, but are 'oft interred with his bones;' and subjects who perhaps writhed under the oppressive rule of the king whom death removed, discover that their wrath for the individual does not extend to the race, and gladly accept the new ruler and that permanence to affairs which a quiet succession promises. It is affirmed that to pick up a pebble alters the centre of gravity of the solar system; and there were observers in Europe whose acute sight informed them that the peace of the world was in some measure affected by the life or death of a Polynesian chief.

The Prince was a fine, vigorous child, and forward for his years in mental development. He was already acquiring a royal courtesy of demeanour. It was a custom in Honolulu, both in the palace and in private dwellings, to introduce refreshments when visitors called, even in the forenoon of the day. It was a custom which prevailed in our own court some centuries ago; and those who are curious can read elaborate regulations about the cup and spice-plate in Grote and other antiquarians. The grace of the young Prince as he proferred to his parents' guests, with his own hand, the fruit or the wine, won the admiration of those who witnessed it. His were the ministrations of a Ganymede.

When rather past the age of four years, he is thus described by one accustomed to see him. 'Lovely in appearance, with delicately-formed features, and bright, intelligent, meditative eyes, he early developed those amiable qualities of mind which made him the idolized love of his parents. To them obedient, courteous to

strangers, kind to inferiors, with an observant eye, a retentive memory and a genial disposition, his whole being seemed to diffuse a sunshine of inexpressible sweetness over the palace and over the land.'

The education of this noble boy was not neglected, and capacities like his took away all difficulties from the task of instruction. From his mother he learned the great lesson of religion; learned it from his best teacher; for to the infant the mother is the true priest and schoolmaster. One who met the royal party campaigning in the woods during a summer excursion, describes the effect produced on himself by coming unintentionally on the group of the Queen and her child very early in the morning, as beneath the trees he found the Prince with clasped hands kneeling at his mother's knees, putting up his artless prayer to 'his Father who is in heaven,' and whose unveiled face his own infant eyes were so soon to behold.

The Prince's further education had been provided for in securing for his tutor one of the clergy then travelling with the first bishop towards Hawaii,—the present Archdeacon Mason. A more judicious choice could scarcely have been made, nor to the intended instructor a more congenial task given. Indeed, the approach of the English Mission was much connected with the future of the boy. This public admission into the Church by baptism was to have been the inauguration of the functions of the bishop and his clergy in the islands. The rite was to be administered by the hands of the bishop; the Queen of England had graciously undertaken to be his female sponsor, and had intrusted to her commissioner Mr. Follett Synge a rich gift to be presented at the ceremony. The child's christening had been delayed much longer than would have usually been

desirable that this public act so gratifying to all who took part in it might be fulfilled.

Mr. Synge's arrival at Honolulu preceded by a short time that of the bishop. He arrived there about the 28th of August, 1862; but on the 19th the royal child had been attacked by illness, inflammation of and pressure on the brain. All the medical skill of the islands, and that was not small, assisted by the care of the surgeon of H.M.S. 'Charybdis' would not avail to turn aside the descending blow. Early on the morning of the 23rd the symptoms were too unmistakeable to allow them to delay any longer the Prince's baptism. All state preparations had then to be dispensed with; a clergyman of the Episcopal Church was not at hand, and the initiatory sacrament was administered with extreme solemnity and according to the English liturgy, by the Rev. Mr. E. H. Clark, in presence of the King, the Queen, the members of the Royal Family, the Ministers of Government, and most of the High Chiefs. Mrs. Synge, the wife of the English commissioner, had the honour of standing proxy for Her Britannic Majesty; the male sponsors being H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the Prince Kaméhaméha, the present King of Hawaii. The dying child received the names of Albert Edward Kaukeaouli a Kaméhaméha.

Thus with haste was the heir of the throne gathered into the outer court of the Christian temple. Whatever cries and strong supplications were poured forth to heaven by the distracted parents were confined within the limits of four days. Two hours after sunrise on Wednesday the 27th of August the child quietly expired; and the minute guns from the palace boomed out the truth to the sorrowing people. The tolling of bells in Honolulu prolonged the nation's sigh; and from

the ships in the harbour and from those that were anchored beyond the coral reefs, flags, that fluttered and fainted half-mast high, repeated the sad intelligence, and seemed to mourn the death of the heir of the island kingdom.

On the following morning, the Prince was laid in state in the great reception room of the palace. He wore in death a look of ineffable sweetness and calm repose. On small tables around the couch stood vases filled with fragrant and beautiful flowers; and at his head was placed a large silver vase of the finest workmanship—the christening gift of his august godmother. For three hours, unchecked, a continuous stream of people of every condition and class was allowed to pass through the room and round the catafalque on which the remains of the prince reposed, and take their last look of a face they loved as if their own offspring.

The day following the funeral, at a Court held for the public reception of H.B.M.'s commissioner, Mr. Synge in addressing the King and assuring him of the continued interest which the Queen and Government of Great Britain took in the welfare and prosperity of the Hawaiian kingdom, spoke as follows:—'I was further commanded by Her Majesty to inform you, Sire, that it is with very sincere gratification that she accepted the office of godmother to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Hawaii; inasmuch as she was thereby enabled to evince to you the very cordial friendship which she entertains for your Majesty, for your gracious Consort, and for your royal house. . . . It was Her Majesty's earnest desire that the christening cup which she sent to the Prince, and which I had the honour to present in the Queen's name to your Majesty, should have been preserved by him as a testimonial and memento of his

royal godmother's friendship and regard. . . . Queen Victoria, who herself has drunk so deeply of the cup of sorrow, will heartily feel for your Majesty and for your Royal Consort in this the terrible bereavement which has befallen you, and will greatly deplore the untimely death of a prince in whose welfare she was so especially and so nearly interested.'

The funeral of the young prince took place on the 7th of September. From sunrise till nearly noon, service guns were fired at five-minute intervals; and when the last solemn rite commenced, the batteries on shore fired minute guns, which were responded to by the cannon of H.B.M.'s frigate 'Termagant.' The ceremonial was kept as private as it could consistently be made, and when the bereaved father and mother took their places at the head of the coffin, the deep and visible emotion of the assembly could not be suppressed. After the service, the coffin was suffered to remain open in the throne-room, that those who desired to make their last 'Aloha' might take a parting look at the placid corpse. In the evening the coffin was deposited within a tomb temporarily built in the palace grounds in the shadow of a beautiful tamarind-tree.

The Hawaiians had a custom, which also prevailed among the Hebrews, of occasionally bestowing on a person a new and significant name, in commemoration of some remarkable event in which he had been concerned. The King, on the death of their first-born and only child, bestowed on his Queen the name of *Kaleleoka-lani*—a name by which she is now generally known among her own people, and by which she frequently subscribes herself. To make the sentiment and appropriateness of this new appellation understood, it is necessary to explain that nearly all the names of the

superior chiefs terminate in the dissylable 'lani.' The word means both 'a chief' and 'the heaven,' its radical notion being that of height or elevation. Kaleleo-kalani may consequently be rendered either the 'flight or evanishment of the chief' or the 'removal or disappearance of the heaven:' and each version expressed in sympathetic and poetic language the loss sustained by the mother who received and the father who inscribed this epitaph of the heart.

Ere the coffin-lid which was to hide his child was finally attached, the King tore from his breast the star of diamonds he wore, and laid it on the bosom of his son. It descended with the corpse into the tomb; and those lustrous gems are as dark and rayless as the deep night which envelopes them.

Johnson, in his censure of Milton's Lycidas, says, 'Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethusa and Mincius. . . . Where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief.' But grief, like other great passions, is capricious, and cannot be confined to a uniform rule of conduct. The King was quite sincere in his sorrow, yet he sought out a name for his partner in affliction which prosaic persons may consider too fanciful. And he was equally sincere when in consecrating the richest jewel he possessed, he was committing in the eyes of utilitarians an extravagance, because the act led to no useful end. But it is not the first time that the most precious possession has been sacrificed at the passionate impulse of a devoted heart; and 'this waste' been reproved by those who could not see the beauty of an uncalculating action.

As for the Queen's sorrow, it was deep instinctive anguish, alleviated by Christian faith. It is woman's power or privilege to suffer and yet survive: and

Kaleleo-ka-lani outlived this blow to endure yet deeper waves of sorrow. For four days and nights she never stirred from the little grave beneath the tamarind-tree. There, not farther intrusive into the sanctity of grief, we leave her for the present, fixed in her attitude of mourning, like 'Rizpah the daughter of Aiah' watching beside her dead. There is something peaceful, at this distance of time, in the picture: the princely child sinking gently asleep; the mother beneath the loving sky of heaven, beautiful by day and yet more beautiful by night, with fixed gaze, seeing the flickering shadows of the leaves cast in turn by sun and by moon on the little spot of earth, more dear to her than all the world, where her innocent child reposes motionless and still—

'A lovely beauty in a summer grave.'

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### BROKEN-HEARTED.

THE strong nature of the King had received by the death of his child a blow the momentum of which could not at first be estimated by others, or, probably, by himself. It had shaken his whole being; but the insidious fractures did not show themselves till time had brought the disintegrating power of its heats and chills, and especially its stormy rains. For the present he returned into himself, and did not know that his wound was incurable. He resumed the work he had undertaken before the Prince's illness, and retiring with the Queen to a residence they possessed some twenty miles from Honolulu, he proceeded with the translation of the English Book of Common Prayer into his native tongue. So, in their several literary occupations, Cowper strove against his deathlike despondency, Burton against the melancholy he anatomized, and Cruden against his fits of intermittent madness. The King's translation of our book of offices is in every respect a very remarkable work. It is remarkable in its origin; that he should of his own mere notion have designed such a labour; and without help and without fearfully weighing the difficulties of transfusing into his own language, deficient in words, and more deficient in abstract ideas, the moral and theological conceptions of the Church, should have

proceeded at once to his successful accomplishment of the task proposed to himself. It is remarkable for the original manner in which the King, exercising his own discretion, arranged the contents of the volume, placing the services in an order corresponding with what he conceived to be their importance and their frequency of use. The book commences with the sentences of morning prayer; the beginning of the Exhortation being rendered '*Ena hoahanau aloha!*'—the last word, one of great significance and frequency in the mouths of Hawaiians, conveying, as has been already mentioned, love, salutation and good wishes. It is their universal word at greeting and at parting. Like the *poi* which the Hawaiians of every class eat, they could not go on without the word '*aloha*.' It most fitly makes its appearance there thus early, when the congregations are joined together to serve the Lord. Matins are followed by the order of evening prayer; the Litany,—in which the names of Kaméhaméha and Queen Emma, take the place of those of our royal family;—the occasional prayers and thanksgivings. These are immediately succeeded by the catechism and the baptismal services. Then come the collects and the epistles and gospels; the administration of the holy communion; the burial service; matrimony; the churching of women; rules for finding the dominical and epact; the calendar, and the table of Feasts, &c.

The execution of the book is also remarkable. The King took extreme pains in the translation; and persons well acquainted with the Hawaiian language and competent to judge, inform us that the work has a right to be entitled a good translation, and that they are satisfied with the general truth and beauty of it. As an instance of the good taste with which Kaméhaméha

proceeded, it may be mentioned that no foreign words are employed, except a few Latin titles to psalms. Not the least curious parts of the work are the calendars, tables for finding Easter, &c., presented in Polynesian garb.

The book is remarkable also for what it omits. The name of '*Halelu Davida*' appears on its title-page, but the King's hand was cold in death before this part of his task was completed. The other omission to notice is that of the Athanasian Creed. Its absence is to be accounted for, in the first place, from the insuperable difficulties which would have encountered the King in trying to give expression and meaning to its language. The King knew his people well, and what the native mind was capable of apprehending. He was himself well acquainted with the history of the Church and the heresies which successively assailed it in its early course. He had even, it is said, described the progress of the Church in a series of letters in a native paper: but in preparing a book of offices for all classes of his subjects, young and old, inveterately ignorant or partially instructed, he (we think wisely) left unsaid what he knew would be uncomprehended, and might be perverted. The Hawaiians, so lately heathens, had never conceived the erroneous ideas combated in the ancient Athanasian symbol, against which false views it was to be a doctrinal bulwark. They had not even words in which to clothe those ideas. From the very form of this creed, to have taught his subjects by its means speculative truths would have been to make them scholars in speculative errors, and to have presented to minds requiring to be fed upon milk, doubts and questionings which they could not have digested. Indeed, the very application of the remedy would have

been to have propagated the virus of the disease which was apprehended. So the King, with thoughtful regard to the present condition of those who were to use the prayer-book, left the Athanasian Creed untouched.*

That part of the work, however, which in this country excites most surprise is the explanation, or preface as it would properly be called had it not been placed at the end of the book. It is a description or explanation of the prayer-book, and an argument for the use of stated prayers in congregational service. We have the distinct assurance that this admirable composition is the unaided work of the King. Without such assurance, one would scarcely believe from its form, its argument and its language, that its author's mind had not received an European training. It is connected, simple in style, earnest in spirit, and of such a length as to command attention without fatiguing it. The King had been long accustomed to hear the so-called extempore prayers of the American missionaries; he had marked the fallacy of the system, and had seen how soon the round of variety in praying was completed, leading to the inevitable result either of a return to previous phrases and petitions, or to the omission, for the sake of varying the prayer, of supplications for the supply of man's always-recurring and never-ceasing necessities.†

It is a matter of some wonder how the King found time to execute his task, for he had the cares of a kingdom upon him. The supreme government of a country,

* 'The Athanasian Creed, indeed, was received tacitly, not formally, by the Church, embodying as it does, the faith authoritatively set forth in the four first General Councils.'—Pusey, 'Eirenicon.'

† The Preface to the King's Prayer-book has been reprinted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Tract No. 1,357, and has gone into extensive circulation in England.

however small, is not to be carried on, especially by one who rules as well as reigns, without labour and cost of time: and Kaméhaméha IV. made it his duty to know and be master of all things which concerned his kingdom, and to read every despatch received in each department, even those which were only semi-official. But he was a very early riser, the great secret of having time for work. One of the clergy of the English mission mentions that before six one morning, and ere he was up, the King and Queen came to him requesting him to see a poor dying native whom they had themselves visited that day already. Most other nations rise earlier than the English, or, what is more true, the English do not rise so early as other nations; and at 5.30 A.M. the generality of Englishmen are, and without reproach, still asleep.

The engrossing nature of the work was of great value to the King after the death of his son. It was necessary that occupation should prevent the little face, which filled his thoughts so much by day and formed his dreams so frequently at night, becoming too fixed an idea. He seems to have felt the danger, and to have tried, in appearance at least, to pursue and find pleasure in his former routine of life, and frankly mingle with those of his subjects who were worthy of his regard. He was at this time twenty-nine years of age; a man of six feet in height, elegant in figure and movement; his skin, the full copper-colour, and his features exhibiting the oceanic Malay-type of the Polynesian race. The expression of his face was sweet and animated. His bearing graceful and courteous in the highest degree. He was an admirable rider, a good whip, shot well, and, at proper times, thoroughly enjoyed a game of cricket or of billiards. He was an English gentleman cut in

olive. He had read English literature and European history. We speak in part from our own personal recollection, and will add from personal knowledge, that the private letters of Kaméhaméha to his friends had all the freedom, not only of handwriting, but of expression and flow, which is characteristic of the writing of our educated countrymen; whilst they sparkled with more humorous turns and strokes of playful raillery than the generality of English correspondence.

He possessed taste in the constructive arts, and was fond of designing furniture. The native woods, though not adapted to building purposes, are excellent for cabinet-making. The last effort of the King of this kind was to design a work-table for Queen Victoria, which was executed in *koa* and *kou* woods, and is now in the palace of Windsor.

It was remarkable that up to the time of the arrival of the English Episcopal Mission in October 1862, the King had made no outward demonstration of religious life. It is not pretended that his youth had been free from faults and careless living; but he was at the period named very happily married, and, without any assumption of piety, was living quietly, and attending strictly to the duties of his position. How wicked is the malice of some persons who now, when the subject of their anger is silent in the grave, overlooking all his later life of usefulness and religious devotion, find pleasure in recounting the foibles or the recklessness of a mere boy, and strive, as it were, to make the penitent dead 'possess the sins of his youth.' The secret of the King's reticence in religion, and his abstention from external profession, was the want of sympathy he felt for the religious teachers about him. He expressed this fact himself; and it is with no view of provoking angry

feeling that it is now repeated, but because it is the true reason of a circumstance that was observed, and which required explanation. The greatest reserve that is possible is maintained throughout this history in speaking of religion, or rather of religionists, in connection with Hawaii; but when the cause of truth demands a candid statement, it must be given in all simplicity. Some volumes and pamphlets which have appeared during the last eighteen months, opposed to the establishment of the English Church in the islands, have used this candour, and sometimes have dispensed with that reserve.

As to the King, it is certain that the faults of the past weighed heavily on his mind during the last year of his life. Before he was five-and-twenty, in a moment of excited passion, he was led to the commission of an act which had a sad termination. If the most heartfelt sorrow, if the tenderest care, and the amplest reparation possible could have availed to avert the threatened catastrophe, a life would have been saved. In his self-reproaches he went so far as to offer to lay aside the prerogative of the crown, and make himself amenable to justice, should he on trial before a criminal tribunal be adjudged guilty. If he resembled David in the greatness of occasional transgressions, he resembled David in the deepness and sincerity of his contrition.

And we may now turn from the dark shadows of the picture to its brilliant lights. The eclipse lasts an hour, but the sun shineth for ever. The King had looked forward to the arrival of the English bishop and clergy for that religious help and sympathy he needed. Ere they came he made such fitting preparations for their establishment and comfort as his own private means would allow, added to the assistance which some of the

chiefs and foreign residents gladly gave: and when they arrived at last, and he came out of his mournful retirement to greet them, his noble and generous nature did not allow him to offer a half-hearted welcome. In the tender communion of Bishop Staley, so soon to be smitten himself with the same blow which had desolated the royal pair, he found abiding comfort. No false pride prevented him now making open profession of his faith, and he and his Queen were confirmed in public, and he thenceforward became a constant communicant at the Lord's Table. From the very interesting letters and journals of Archdeacon and Mrs. Mason which have been received in England during the last two years, many pleasing traits and notices of the late King are to be gathered. Their intercourse with him and the Queen was very frequent and always happy. 'The King shows in his conversation and in the things he writes an extraordinary amount of reading.' * * * * 'His great personal attractions are his remarkably easy and gentlemanlike address, and his soft pensive eyes. His manner with ladies is particularly refined.' * * * 'The King joined in a game of cricket, and again showed how well he can unbend with his people, without appearing to condescend, and yet without losing his dignity.' * * * 'The King was present at a meeting at the Court House respecting the mission. It is so very delightful to see a King acting as really the father of his people; caring for their spiritual as well as their temporal interests.' He strove, at least he showed himself willing, to enter into the little enjoyments of his new guests; joined in some excursions with them, rejoicing at their admiration of the natural beauties of Hawaii, and insisting on giving up the arrangements which had been prepared for his own comfort, that the new comers might not be

incommoded by mosquitoes, &c., in their al fresco campaign.

But under the external show of cheerfulness, and under the round of daily duties and constant acts of kindness, there throbbed a breaking heart; and all that the world saw were the expiring manifestations of a life that was sapped and would shortly disappear. Wordsworth describes a man whom he had known, and whose reason gave way in aberration, under the smart of wounded affections, as

> '— one of giant stature, who could dance
> Equipp'd from head to foot in iron mail.'*

Such a description would not have overstated the physical powers of Kaméhaméha; and yet he was fading away beneath the canker of a bosom grief: 'If ever'—writes one who was accustomed to be daily in his society,—'If ever I saw a broken-hearted man, it s the King.' His sun was to go down at noon, yet not without one hour of twilight. The last year was truly a crepuscule of glowing, tender light, the unexpected but fit prelude to the setting of that bright informing spirit in death.

On the 27th of September, being the anniversary of the Prince of Hawaii's decease, the King and Queen called on Archdeacon and Mrs. Mason in the evening, bringing with them six little native children, whom they desired should be educated at the expense of the royal pair, in commemoration of the death of their son; one of them being the foster-brother of the lost prince. Thus the great grief of their life was already sanctifying itself, by claiming to be united to acts of beneficence to man and of piety towards God.

* 'Tis said that some have died for love.'—*Wordsworth's Works.*

It is under the tender hues of declining life that we are called upon to exhibit the strong nature of the King. All must have noticed at some time the magic of the evening hour, to which we have compared the last year of this great chief. Under its influence we have seen the stagnant pool, with its unlovely foreground and accessories, light up into beauty—the slant sunbeams dappling it with lights and deep mysterious shadows, so that the artist would gladly have transfixed the scene upon his canvas; whilst nobler things, the ivy-clad rock and columned portico, gathered greatness to their greatness, and stamped themselves upon memory, to be retained whilst memory has any power to hold her treasures. In the autumn of 1863 the King and Queen met with a carriage accident, which placed their lives in great peril. Whilst driving, their horses ran away, and were approaching a precipice, when the carriage was upset and its occupants were thrown out, and though saved from their impending fate, were much bruised and shaken. Their first impulse was to send to the clergyman and request that their thanksgiving might be offered during the evening service; a eucharist which was repeated the next morning, by receiving the holy communion at the bishop's hands. This circumstance is mentioned as showing how immediate to the King's thoughts was religion, and how softened his character was under its influences.

Whether this accident had any ulterior effect on the King's health is uncertain; but an incident will now be mentioned which had occurred some months previously, an incident very affecting in its circumstances, and which exercised a permanent influence on the whole man.

In the month of February, 1863, the King left Hono-

lulu accompanied by Bishop Staley, and his aide-de-camp Colonel Kalakawa, on a visit to the island of Hawaii. On Saturday the 28th they arrived at the village of Kailua, where the King had a summer residence, and where he intended to remain a few days. Major Hoapili, who had already taken the resolution to resign his secular appointments, both in the army and as a district judge, and was preparing himself under the bishop's superintendence for holy orders, was also of the party. As the bishop was leaving in the afternoon to hold services at Kona, a village fifteen miles distant, he left in the hands of the royal party a prayer book, bracketed in pencil, so that, in the absence of a clergyman, public prayers might be offered by one of the suite.

In this country residence, beside the ever-murmuring ripple of the blue Pacific, the King had had his last intercourse with his darling child whilst in perfect health. As he wandered through the house, the memories of that happier time thronged upon him and greatly affected him. At last, he chanced upon a box containing playthings which the little prince had used; and never before did toys present such sad and solemn associations. At seeing them the bereaved father could not restrain his grief; and in such a tender and melancholy mood the morning of Sunday opened upon him. Near the King's retreat there was a meeting-house of the Congregationalists; and though no resident minister was stationed at Kailua, a service was held that day in the chapel by a native preacher. The King and his suite attended the service, which mainly consisted of a high Calvinistic sermon, in which a terrifying picture was drawn of the God of the Christians, and the preacher descanted with zealous unction on judgment and the

second death, intermixing it with sweet contemplations on the eternal punishment of the damned. Lacerated in his own feelings, and grieving for those of his poor subjects who found no more spiritual food presented to them than these alarming representations, the King determined to hold a second service in the afternoon. When this intention was known, the building was crowded with natives, and Major Hoapili putting on a white surplice, read prayers in the manner indicated by the bishop. Then the King, also wearing a linen surplice, and thus marking to the native mind the different office he assumed, addressed to the attentive auditory an extempore sermon. To say that the text he selected was the pearl-like sentence in St. John's Gospel, 'Jesus wept,' speaks volumes in itself. The preacher's own bleeding heart was clinging to all the tenderness and sympathy of a Saviour's love, and he recommended that abounding love and beneficence and long-suffering as the motive for holiness and for hope to his hearers. Deep was the silence and the attention of that auditory. It was their king who spoke—the old feudal spirit would alone have made them earnest to catch every word and observe every gesture. It was their Christian King, the mourner for whose loss, on his approach the previous day, the women had raised the wail of grief—who was uttering golden words of consolation, and they were riveted by his voice. It was a scene to be lastingly remembered. It has been truly said of it that we must trace back the stream of history even to Charlemagne if we would meet with its parallel, and see a king of men in humble love setting forth to his subjects the love of the King of kings.

But the excitement of his agitated feelings was too great for the King. When the sermon was over a

numbness seized one of his hands and presented symptoms of incipient paralysis. A messenger was sent to the bishop at Kona, who despatched one of his clergy travelling with him, Mr. Ibbotson, and the resident doctor, and they reached Kailua at midnight. The attack appeared to pass away; but it seemed to the King himself sufficiently serious to lead him to send to his devoted Queen and beg her to come to him from Honolulu.*

* I may be transgressing the part of a historian in reproducing in a foot-note some verses which the incident narrated above called forth, and which appeared in a London periodical. The circumstances were sufficiently varied at the time to prevent their application being too personal:—

BROKEN TOYS.

I have bow'd beneath the stroke, and the storm is passing o'er:
I will walk, and will not murmur, though my lips may smile no more.
The world is quite forsaken—
My beautiful is taken
To the dim eternal shore.
I have learn'd to watch the little spot of earth that is my boy's,—
But scarcely yet I dare to touch his broken toys.

'Mid the shadows of the evening, in the blackness of the night,
That struggle and that piteous look come back upon my sight;
Until I cry, 'Thank Heaven,
Short was thy fearful levin,—
Not longer was the fight.'
And I recall the resting limbs, the peaceful, smiling face,
Sunlit, as if of pain it ne'er had known a trace.

I have gathered up his few small books,—they stand beside my bed;
I have folded up for treasures the clothes from which he fled:
The cambric shirt, with stain
Of blood from the blue vein
Of his arm when he was bled.
I can bear these suffering tokens,—but not those of his joys;—
A mother's heart is broken by these broken toys.

In the course of the autumn circumstances, both political and in connection with the royal family, occasioned the King disquietude: and those about him felt uneasy on the subject of his health, though no definite indications of its failure yet appeared. The sun had even then left the zenith.

He retreated from state ceremonials as much as possible, and preferred the private life; yet on necessary occasions—the presentation of a new diplomatic agent or the commander and officers of a freshly-arrived national ship—he showed at the palace his usual simple but dignified courtesy to the new comers. Late in the year it was thought desirable to hold a public reception, and with no small effort and self-denial the King and Queen consented to bear about the mockery of whatever gaiety and pleasure is supposed to be connected with such gatherings. The evening of the 28th of November, 1863, was the appointed time. The King's health was known to be infirm, but none seemed to have been aware that the flame of life was burning low, and was even then flickering in the socket.

The 28th of November is a white day in the Hawaiian calendar; and the twentieth anniversary of the recognition of the independence of the country by England and France was fit in the people's estimation to be joyfully celebrated throughout Hawaii Nei'. Therefore the small but pretty Iolani palace was bright with lights at 8 o'clock that evening. Military music gave anima-

How weak I am! how changeful, how desolate, how lone!
Bear with my faithless grief, O Thou, to whom all grief is known!
I will think upon Thy story;
I will think upon his glory
Who from my arms is flown;
And try to figure to myself the bliss that is my boy's:—
But my heart is well-nigh broken by these broken toys!

tion to the sight, and the scent of flowering plants in the palace enclosure, and the paler hues of the blossoms in the flood of silver moonlight, reminded European and other guests that they were in a climate where winter is not a stepmother to nature; but where the maidens can wreathe their heads with flowers, and youths fill *ti* leaves with ripe strawberries through all the months. Among those who thronged to the reception were the Bishop of Honolulu, the English Commissioner Mr. Synge, the American Minister, all the political and judicial functionaries, and many foreign and native residents. Uniforms of aides-de-camp, robes of clergy, and the full dresses of ladies, made an ensemble which differed from that of European courts in magnitude only, not in brilliancy or elegance.

It was at once perceived by the assemblage that no member of the royal family was present; and when the Queen entered the reception chamber she was alone. She remained there an hour, and received the presentation of several official and many private persons, spoke some kind words to those who approached her, and retired from that bright scene to watch by the bed-side of her husband.

On the 30th, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, there being no apparent cause for alarm or symptoms of approaching dissolution, the Queen was entirely alone, but still watching the countenance of the King, who spoke to her in a low voice. He ceased suddenly and drew a long breath, when the poor wife (no queen at that minute, only a loving anxious woman) supposing that a spasm had caused her husband to lose his breath, or that he had fainted, bent her lips to his, and tried with her breath to restore the action of his lungs. She might as well have tried to bestow life on a marble

statue. A slight muscular motion remained in the heart, and added to her incredulity that she was face to face with death. The bishop and the ministers were hastily summoned, and the first comers reached the chamber too late to see their sovereign still alive.

It was some time before the Queen could dispel the dull disbelief that the man to whom she was passionately attached was taken from her. This scepticism of survivors at the first moments of their bereavement is an opiate mercifully afforded in many cases, and dulls the agony which might destroy them by its blow, and lay them on the same bed of death. But like other anodynes, the veil is sooner or later rent asunder, and then the pangs of pain or grief resume their full reign. With the Queen, disbelief had to give way to the certain knowledge that she was a widow, and that the corpse of Kaméhaméha was already growing cold. But with a constancy, which has been seen at the death of her child, and was now still farther exemplified, she could not be removed from the side of the corpse. Bowed down, silent and fasting—for in eight days nothing but a few grapes and a little water passed her lips—she remained unconscious to the whole outer world; whilst, as in the case of Job, in the first onslaught of his sufferings, her friends and attendants could only watch round her in silence and tears. The only sound which reached her, and which soon by its continuance became unobserved, was the wail of men and women, which during two months went up incessantly by night and day round the walls of the palace. Yes, there was one influence which made itself a way to the Queen in the very flood of her distress,—it was her religious faith. One soft footstep was heard by an ear inattentive to louder sounds,—it was that of the bishop, as he came at the

Queen's desire to administer to her at 7 o'clock, the morning after her bereavement, the sacramental bread and wine, the instrument to which she looked for consolation if not for comfort. Among those of her own sex who watched by the Queen, were Mrs. Staley the bishop's wife; Mrs. Mason and Mrs. Synge, respectively the wives of the now Archdeacon of Maui and of the English commissioner. These ladies scarcely ever left her.

In this age of veneer, when the solid mahogany of thought and principle has been so generally discarded, and we economize by overlaying ourselves with a thin external coat of political or moral ethics, electrotype our feelings, and sickly o'er our learning with a very pale cast of thought, the concentration and devotion of the royal widow and her sympathizing attendants, and the genuine and sustained sorrow of the King's humbler subjects, bring to the mind a sensation almost of refreshment, and a renewed belief

> 'that in our embers
> Is something that doth live:'

and prove that in an age marked, as a French writer has observed, by a general absence of conviction, there yet linger hearts in which love and grief and zeal and piety are realities; powerful motives influencing the whole being they possess, and having in themselves the power to kill or to keep alive.

Thus ended, at the early term of thirty years, the earthly career of Alexander Liholiho, surnamed Kamé-haméha IV. If the absence of public achievements, and the want of ambition, which requires to be made of sterner stuff than was the King's delicate nature, do not entitle him to be called great, there were materials in his character which would have adorned the reign of any sovereign; and possibly were sufficient to have made him a greater King had he been placed on a larger

stage. Reviewing the occurrences of his later years, he must be named a man of sorrows, but it may be truly added of him, that it was good that he had been afflicted; the chastisement that was upon him discovered the beauties of his disposition. Alas! why are the song of the swan and the iris hues of the dolphin only the certain premonitions and preludes of death?

The King had possessed in an eminent degree that power, generally exercised unconsciously by the subject, of attaching to himself those who came in contact with him. So we observe golden opinions expressed of him in the written and verbal communications of those who had known him personally. It is not to be inferred from what has been said of the King's want of ambition, that he was deficient in firmness: his dismissal of the legislature in 1856, and some other passages of his life, prove the contrary; but the character of his mind was thoughtfulness, kindness, and love, the desire for information, and for the safety and progress of his people. He had attracted the affection of those who knew him in his boyhood and adolescence; and in after years he did not lose their kind regard. As to his qualifications for his high office, one who had been long intimate with the King writes thus: 'Not unconscious of his own powers, he wanted to employ them in the service of the state, and he always felt that, as a constitutional monarch, he was rather the arbitrator between opposing views than the supporter of any line of policy which recommended itself to his own judgment, and which, off the throne, he could have better vindicated with his own logic. As General Commanding in Chief, to give an instance, he showed an appreciation of system and a knowledge of detail which proved, beyond controversy, his executive talent.' Again, the same writer says, 'that the King's talents were brilliant, his feelings keen

his appearance elegant, his conversation sparkling and bright, and his sorrows unfathomable, we all know. He was a prince to be proud of; and his nation mourned him more for the promise that was in him than for his position by birth.' Then alluding to the great grief of his life, the same writer adds: 'We have all read in history of an English King, who after his son's death was never seen to smile again; and those who were most about our late King assert that after *his* son's death, he thought of him every hour of every day, and dreamed of him by night. Now that they have met again, it cannot be wrong to say, that the death of the son hastened the death of the father. God grant that we may never again see so heart-broken a man.'

The Bishop of Honolulu, who only became personally acquainted with the late King during the last thirteen months of his life, but through that time was in constant, almost daily intercourse with him, thus describes him, particularly in reference to his religious character, knowledge, and views: 'A man of rare physical powers, of elegant tastes, keen perceptions, who could enjoy Kingsley, Thackeray, Tennyson, and was ever quoting Shakespeare, the bent of his mind was still theological. He had the strong religious instincts peculiar to his race. Those he felt could never be satisfied by truths which addressed themselves only to the logical faculty. The Catholic faith, as taught in the Church of England, in its integrity, seemed to meet fully the cravings of his soul. He loved to dwell on the regularity of the English orders, and few laymen could vindicate with the same ability every link in the chain of their transmission. He was familiar with the works of Wheatley, Palmer, Courayer, Perceval. A true churchman on conviction, he was no less opposed to Roman error than

to Congregationalism; but no one ever heard from his lips an uncharitable word with regard to other religious systems. He used to remark the soundness of our position as a Church—that of Scripture interpreted by "the old fathers"—and he would say "the waters become purer as you approach the fountain." In the last conversation I had with him, he remarked, with reference to a service that had been held for the American residents, "I highly approve your attempts to soften down national feelings of irritation. The Church is Catholic, and knows no nationalities." Talking over his plan of visiting England next year with the Queen, he said, "I want to go as a member of the Anglican Church myself, and ask my fellow-churchmen to aid me in saving my poor people."'

On the morning after his death the body of the King was removed into the throne-room of the palace. How changed was that apartment in the three days since the reception. The hall that had been so brilliant with artificial light, now dimmed by the partial exclusion of the natural day. The then subdued sound of many voices, of salutations, not unmixed with anxiety, the whisper of rustling silk, the clink of peaceful swords on the floor, and the faint pauses of music from without, now hushed into such silence, that a breath was heard, and a sigh startled the ear like a cry of pain. Only from the circle of mourners who surrounded the palace there reached that apartment the pathetic monotonous chant of wailing, now low, now rising higher, as if by new accessions of grief; just as from the encircling reefs the island hears the murmur of the surf varying in force with the varying winds. The throne with its crimson hangings was no longer the point to which all eyes turned; but a bier in the centre of the room, draped with black cloth,

on which lay extended the stalwart form of the late King arrayed in his Field-marshal's uniform, and elongated by death into a giant's length. At his head was a small table or altar, on which stood the emblem of his faith. The officers of state formed a silent group beyond the catafalque, and at each extremity were native chiefs, bearing in their hands the tall *kahilis* or feathered wands of office, with that patient immobility attained only by the unsophisticated races of men. And, lastly, at the front corner of that couch of death was bowed a figure hidden by a black veil, chief mourner of all those who sincerely mourned their sovereign, and whose statue-like attitude struck every heart with awe and pity.

And such remained the scene when the subjects of Kaméhaméha, high and low, were allowed to pass through the room and bid their chief a silent last *aloha*. The lying in state was protracted, owing to the preparation of the funeral obsequies, which were on a scale unprecedented in that country. All honours which the love and reverence of a people could suggest were paid at the funeral; and the erection of a new mausoleum was commenced, on rising ground looking down on the city of Honolulu, the distant Waianae mountains, and the ocean. 'The situation was well chosen; and while the fan-like landscape spreads out its unspeakable softness and beauty to the west, and the setting sun seems to linger over the ocean's rim, as if loth to part from a scene so lovely, sunrise and resurrection stand close behind the mountain curtain which fringes the valley on the east, and which prolongs the freshness and sweetness of the morning hours.' *

* Polynesian. December 12, 1863.

The circumstances of the new name which Queen Emma received from her husband on the death of their only child, the Prince of Hawaii, and the import of it, have been mentioned in the previous chapter; and now in her early widowhood—for the Queen was not seven-and-twenty at the time of the King's death—the people, in their affectionate sympathy, changed her name once more. The adjective particle *na*, meaning 'all,' or 'the entire,' was substituted for that of *ka*, which is genitive singular. So instead of the name '*Kaleleo-ka-lani*,' 'the flight of *the* chief, or heaven,' the desolation of the wife as well as the mother was thenceforward expressed by '*Kaleleo-na-lani*,'—'the flight of ALL the chiefs, or the entire heaven:' for it seemed to the people that to their Queen, now, *all* joy was darkened, and that her earth was utterly empty and void.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE WILD OLIVE TREE.

IT was on the 11th of October, 1862, that Dr. Staley, consecrated to the see of Honolulu, accompanied by Mr. Mason, now Archdeacon of Maui, and by Mr. Ibbotson, also in priest's orders, landed in his diocese; where he was followed soon after by Mr. Scott, also a priest, who had gone by ship from England to San Francisco. It can never be forgotten by those most interested in this movement that the mission to the Sandwich Islands was one sown in tears. The much lamented Prince Consort of England died the day before Dr. Staley's consecration, and when the mission touched land they heard of the death of the young Prince of Hawaii. A strange and unaccountable gloom had fallen on the spirits of one of the clergy who journeyed with the bishop, the one probably fullest of hope and buoyancy, as they neared the port of Honolulu, the goal of their long travel; and the sad news of the blighted hope of a nation was received by him without surprise, and almost as if he had been prepared for the intelligence. Within a year, the venerable prelate who had laid his hands on Dr. Staley's head was reposing in the tomb, and a child of the Bishop of Honolulu, and one of Mr. Scott, were added to the number of the dead. The death of the good Kaméhaméha IV. makes up the melancholy catalogue.

The mission, bringing with them a branch of the universal Church of Christ, was received in the kindest manner. Let it be said to the honour of all those who under different denominations serve God, whether Romanist or Dissenter, that a welcome came from all, and a kind hand was held out on their arrival. If differences of opinion soon showed themselves, if weekly papers sought to widen divergencies and to sow feuds of jealousy,

> For whispering tongues can poison truth,

there was at least a smile of kindness when the little band of Englishmen first trod the shore of Oahu.

The bishop and his clergy had made the most of the opportunities for study which a voyage afforded, and had so advanced in a knowledge of the Hawaiian tongue that they were able immediately on their arrival to hold a service in native.

A great deal of displeasure has been expressed in Hawaii, in America, and some even here, at the planting of the church as it exists in England in the North Pacific. It is not the duty of a historian to be a controversialist; far less should it be his pleasure to reply to attacks, partly personal to himself, or to add acrimony to acrimony. It will be sufficient to say that Dr. Rufus Anderson has written a book lately on the Hawaiian Islands, in which a chapter is devoted not to the praise of 'the Reformed Catholic Mission.' Each writer has perfect liberty to give the view of a subject he believes to be correct; but he cannot secure the power of drawing on a discussion, during the progress of which charity may be lost and the reading public find themselves weary. A very few independent remarks will be all that are necessary.

As, however, the name of a distinguished English prelate is often mentioned, it will be right to agree at once that Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, the worthy son of a man whose name became a watchword throughout the civilized world in the cause of freedom, was very instrumental in the sending forth this mission in its present form. He does not shrink from the responsibility, if it be one, of having urged on the English promoters of the mission, on the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and elsewhere, the absolute necessity of giving an episcopal head and a proper organization to a branch which was to represent the Reformed Church Catholic, as she exists in Great Britain, in a distant land; that so, when planted and watered and taking root in that far-off soil, she might resemble in her degree the Church, her mother, in her integrity, and perhaps in after time become herself 'a pillar'd shade,' the parent of other scions in various Oceanic groups. In Convocation the Bishop of Oxford instanced Hawaii in his speech on the consecration of missionary bishops, and bishops receiving sees in the dominions of friendly, independent sovereigns. And, unquestionably, his hand was active in so guiding proceedings that a licence was issued to the Primate of all England which neither compromised the Queen's Majesty as temporal head of the Church here, nor intrenched on the dignity of the Archbishop, nor invaded the sovereign rights of the King of Hawaii. In all the necessary steps which were taken the bishop acted with the zeal and wisdom which make him so valuable as a supporter of Church missions in all parts of the world.

It was the duty of the writer of this history to inform his late Majesty Kaméhaméha IV. as to the steps taken about the form of the mission and the form of the

warrant by which the Archbishop was enabled, without danger of *premunire*, to exercise his spiritual power of consecrating a bishop for Hawaii at the King's own request. He acquainted the King that no allegiance was claimed from this new bishop, and no jurisdiction was attempted to be conferred upon him; and also that, had the word jurisdiction been used, its meaning extended no farther than that of power to the bishop to decide civil causes in his own court among such English-born subjects as chose to come before him as suitors.

Never was a graft inserted into the wildling olive with more tenderness or care. The earnest consideration of the late Primate and the Bishops of London and Oxford was assisted by the views of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General. The steps taken here were most constitutional; and in result a bishop left the English shores as unfettered as any on record, and his landing in the Hawaiian Islands had nothing which could raise a fear as to infringement of the King's sovereignty and prerogative, or excite alarm of encroachment as regarded any Christian communities already settled there. The Church in Hawaii is free and independent. She has been espoused by the royal family and many of the chiefs; by foreign residents and large numbers of the native population. Her mission, she feels, is not to usurp—but to teach and bless and save.

The cry of injury and fear which Christian denominations in the islands have uttered at the coming of the English Church—which they describe as an entering in on other men's labours, a trespass on their preserves—and the opposition which they offer, if not strange, are at least uncalled for. The Roman Catholics cannot have already forgotten the aggressive means by which

their church obtained a lodgment in the islands, however those transactions may have been afterwards condoned by the Hawaiian government in consideration of the personal piety and quiet behaviour of the Romanists there. And the American Nonconformists must surely remember those principles of religious liberty and equality which they instilled (much to their credit) into successive constitutions and enactments, they being the advisers of the King and his chiefs. They can scarcely have intended that that religious liberty was to be confined to their own body, or that equal rights supposed no competitors. For the information of readers not so well informed as to the state in which religious profession was placed under the constitutional monarchy, the following extracts are given.

The second article of the constitution granted by King Kaméhaméha III., in 1852, and by Kaméhaméha V. in 1864, declares 'All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but the sacred privilege, hereby secured, shall not be construed as to justify acts of licentiousness or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the kingdom.' Of the statute laws enacted in 1845–1846, the sixth and seventh sections of the second Act relate to religion, and proceed as follows:—

Sect. VI. The religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ shall continue to be the established national religion of the Hawaiian Islands. The laws of Kaméhaméha III., orally proclaimed, abolishing all idol worship and ancient heathenish customs, are hereby continued in force, and said worship and customs are forbidden to be practised in this kingdom, upon the pains and penalties to be prescribed in the criminal code.

Sect. VII. Although the Protestant religion is the religion of the government as heretofore proclaimed, nothing in the

last preceding section contained shall be construed as requiring any particular form of worship, neither is anything therein contained to be construed as connecting the ecclesiastical with the body politic. All men residing in this kingdom shall be freely allowed to worship the God of the Christian Bible, according to the dictates of their own consciences, and this sacred privilege shall never be infringed upon. Any disturbance of religious assemblies, or hindrance of the free and unconstrained worship of God, unless such worship be connected with indecent or improper conduct, shall be considered a misdemeanour, and punished as in and by the criminal code prescribed.

The above articles and sections express complete tolerance in religion, and disclaim the implication of a state religion, farther than in connecting the government with the Protestant form of Christianity.

Still less will the dissenting community deny with truth the historic fact that England was frequently invited during sixty years to send clerical assistance to Hawaii; from the time when Vancouver bore the first message for help, and Liholiho preferred the same request with his own lips on his visit to this country. Mr. Wyllie, the late Foreign Minister, in a letter to the writer of this account, dated 14th December 1859, recounts the successive attempts which were made to obtain an episcopal church and clergyman in Honolulu, evidencing a continuous desire for it. It is true that the Hawaiian kings and chiefs did not ask for a bishop —they might in former years as well have thought of asking for the moon. The time for missionary bishops was not come,—but now is come: and the English Church does not feel she has done her duty in propagating herself in distant places, by sending a single unaided clergyman to struggle with overwhelming

numbers and difficulties, to sink or swim in his solitary endeavours to convert millions of heathens, having at the same time to sustain the glow-worm-like flame of his own faith and courage and energy. So the request of 1859, it is well known, did not at first contemplate a bishop. When Dean Swift was asked by a beggar for a mug of his honour's small-beer, he replied that beggars should not be choosers, and he ordered him up a jug of ale. On the request for a clergyman being made, those in England who know now what missions must be to be effective, pointed out the necessity for an episcopal head, and showed their readiness in trying to procure one for Hawaii; and this enlargement of the plan was immediately and gladly followed by the King's request that a bishop should be appointed and consecrated for his dominions. The Bishop of Oxford distinctly stated that he would not join in endeavours to send forth a mission that was not properly constituted by having a bishop at its head; and in this view he spoke the mind of some of the most important of its promoters. The writers and speakers who have been ready to complain of one particular prelate having taken so considerable a part in the planting of the English Church in the islands of Hawaii have connected with that bishop's name the names of one or two other persons who are often seen associated with him in active works of religion. They also have asserted that one great body in the church has been exclusively the promoter and supporter of the mission. This latter assertion is not correct. Among the contributors to the mission are numbered some of those who take to themselves the distinctive title of Evangelical—a title which no real Christian will consent to forego, except as a convenient distinction of schools existing in one church. When

invitations were addressed to the Societies for Propagating the Gospel, and for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, a similar appeal was made to the Church Missionary Society: and it is only due to that great Society, as well as to the Hawaiian Mission, to mention that the grounds of non-compliance with the work of co-operation submitted to the managers of the C. M. S. were stated to be, that the grants made by the Society already exceeded its income; and its fundamental rule that its efforts were to be directed to lands where Christ is not named, and not to those countries which already profess Christianity. It is right that these facts should be stated; because although, in one land, men earnest in the cause of religion, impressed strongly with their particular views, think it well to work apart from others, yet in a country too young in religion and too far removed to understand the distinctions which lead to this division of labour, there ought to be but *one* church, as there is but one sun in the heavens.

Under the declarations contained in successive constitutions quoted above, there can be little fear of an Erastian Church founding itself in Hawaii: and the danger in the case of the Reformed Catholic Communion is still farther removed from the tendencies of that church itself—its independence and its autonomy. It has already adopted synodal action, and its synod is composed of laymen and clergy, the former preponderating in numbers. The members of this council or synod are also the trustees of the church buildings and property. There can be no state endowment of the church. The American missionaries and their friends pronounce themselves strongly against all future grants or endowments, either to the Anglican body or to themselves. The English perfectly assent to this

decision: but one has to remember that the American missionary churches, schools, &c., are already endowed, and that nearly all the former missionaries received grants. It is always pleasing to see self-restraint; but that virtue is not so striking when the practitioner of it denies himself receiving what he already possesses, and checks his appetite after he has eaten and is full.

There ought, then, to be no ground for strife among those who profess their lives devoted to bringing to the Hawaiian people the blessings of the Gospel, and not only converting them, but training them in a new and sanctified life. Let not the most earnest among the American body judge the Church of England hardly even in this day, if it be so, of small things. There are men among the former of enlightened views—instance the late Dr. Armstrong—and of gentle, earnest spirit; men whom love directs. If it be not invidious to select one name from among several, that of Mr. Damon might be stated, about whom no word of dispraise seems ever to be uttered: and who, by a long course of Christian devotion and kindness, has won to himself the high esteem of all who know him. He pursues his ministrations in his chapel in Honolulu, called the Bethel Church, the place of worship specially intended for seamen who visit the port.

If the American missionary party would calmly and candidly survey the results of forty years of their occupancy of the islands as religious teachers, and of the million of dollars which they urge has been spent by America in supporting their mission, so far from being satisfied with what has yet been done, they should gladly see any fresh Christian agency brought to bear on a population still for the greater part sunk in ignorance, vicious habits, and, it must be added, idolatry: a popu-

lation sinning against the laws of health as well as morality, and perishing from the earth in consequence. Enough has been written already about their vices; but later witnesses, those who have acquired the language, tell us how the pollution of mind and body spreads itself in their most ordinary conversation, and infects almost the lisping words of children. And then the snaky form of idolatry, so tenacious of life, and which proves to have been scotched, not killed, is lifting up her head again. Kahunas (priests) of Pelé are still to be met with; the old heathenism shows itself when under terror or pain the man throws aside the mask and speaks out; and many well-authenticated cases of praying to death have been met with even within the last two years.

Several circumstances would conduce to the want of more complete success on the part of the American missionaries, even leaving out of sight the radical question as to the promise of power which accompanies authority in those duly sent forth to evangelize the world, by Christ. It is not a question which I shall enter upon; nor do I leave out of sight the fact that the missionaries were acting in a field where authorized teachers had not been sent. There were practical detriments independently. There was a mistake as to the characteristics of the native race; a mistake as to the adaptiveness of Christianity to conform itself to mental idiosyncrasies, and form itself into new vessels moulded differently from those which had previously contained it. There was, probably, incompatibility between some of the persons and the work they engaged in,—the difficulty of square, even angular, men in round holes, and so forth. They were blind to salient features in the national character—their belief in aris-

tocracy, their fine organization of eye and ear, their acute observing and reasoning powers, their sense of the ludicrous. It was a drawback to the dignity, and therefore to the usefulness, of the missionaries, that many of them engaged in trade, and that of a very retail kind. They may urge that it was needful to have some means of supporting themselves and their families, several of them being proletary in character. Farther, they may perhaps remind us that Paul the apostle was Saul the tent-maker. As to the former difficulty, we may point out the fact they themselves are justly proud of, that Northern America contributed a million of dollars for the support of the mission; that there were schools of missionaries' children, and other provision made in their behalf. If, then, it was necessary for a missionary to keep a store, we say that it was an unfortunate adjunct, and a detriment to his more spiritual functions; for a congregation can hardly be so much impressed with Sunday preaching against unworldliness and in praise of elevation to the spiritual life, when they remember that on Saturday they haggled with their minister about the price of a pair of shoes, or, on Friday, had to complain to him of short weight in a piece of bacon. And as to any argument based on the example of the apostles, we must bear in mind that the world has changed its views in this and many other secular things, and has introduced lines of demarcation which did not exist when the Roman citizen was deemed incomplete who had not acquired an art or a trade. St. Paul acted according to the customs of his contemporaries, and in conformity with their ways of thinking in these matters. Now, there are different customs in society and new modes of thought, and the

ministers of the Church, with great advantage, adapt themselves to the atmosphere in which they live.

It is in no spirit of triumph that these facts are recorded. They only show the infection of our nature, and the weakness of our means to struggle against and overcome it. We need but look at home, and we shall see that—after centuries of Christianity, ministers of religion spread throughout the land, books, tracts,

> Bibles laid open, millions of surprises,
> The sound of glory ringing in our ears—

idolatry is not extinct; it only takes another and less material form. Self, our will, power, are the gods of *our* idolatry. A calf of gold, it is true, is no longer set up for our prostrations; but money is worshipped by rich and poor, and a guinea is the graven image to which we bow down.

Great then is the need for help; and this should rather have made the teachers of religion who have the people's welfare at their heart joyful to see new labourers enter the vineyard, though themselves had already borne the heat of some hours of day, and to have induced them to be tolerant if they found the new comers differ from themselves in certain lines of thought and methods of proceeding; for still there might have been maintained truth in essentials, liberty in non-essentials, and charity in all things. But it had not this effect. It is said that Romanists and Dissenters made friends on the approach of those whom they looked upon as a common enemy, and that men of the extremest divergence in religion approached in order to exclude the English Church. We are reminded of what Wheatley speaks of the religionists of his day, whom he compares to the foxes which Samson tied together by

their tails with a fire-brand between them, to burn the Philistines' corn; for they whose heads were turned in contrary directions were united in this, the desire to do mischief to the Church of England. How needful then is the prayer which that church uses day by day, 'that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth; and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.'

It has been already mentioned that the bishop and his clergy were received on their arrival with the utmost kindness, though the King and Queen were absent from Honolulu. The King's father, Governor of Oahu, together with Mr. Wyllie the Foreign Minister, and Mr. Synge the English Commissioner, came on board to welcome them, and a residence had been provided for the bishop's family and for Mr. Mason's. A meeting-house had also been purchased in Honolulu for the Church Mission, which though mean, ugly, and insufficient, was important to have at once; but an immediate transformation was made in its interior by arranging the furniture and other movables they had brought with them from England. This wooden and temporary structure is, up to the present time, the only building representing the bishop's chair or cathedral of Honolulu.

On the 23rd the King, who had returned to the capital immediately on hearing of the arrival of the mission, presided at a meeting held at the Court House for deciding on its plan of action. On this occasion the name and style of the mission was fixed as 'The Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church.' A synod was also decided on for the government of the temporal concerns of the new church, and for the assistance of

the bishop in consultation. Among the first members of the synod were Governor Kekuanoa the King's father, Judge Robertson, and Mr. Harris, the Attorney-General, Mr. T. Brown, together with the Bishop and his clergy.

The death of the Prince of Hawaii having prevented the public inauguration of the mission which had been intended, the adhesion of the King and Queen was made known by their being publicly confirmed in the church on the 28th of November. For many years persons had lived in his islands without having the opportunity of participating in the rite of confirmation, who now took advantage of the arrival of the Bishop; and on St. Andrew's Day, being also Advent Sunday, Mr. Wyllie, Judge Robertson, and Mr. Harris were confirmed.

The twilight of Advent was leading to a bright sun-rising that Christmas. The zeal of the new comers, and the readiness of those among whom they came, united in a Christian festival which was as brilliant as it was impressive. The following interesting account of the proceedings is taken from Archdeacon Mason's letters, and is given here in his own words:

'On Christmas Eve, the arrangements in the church were finished by 5 P.M., and I never saw in England a church so beautifully decorated. The natives have great taste in these matters. Here too we have all the advantage over you in being able to get all kinds of flowers at this season.

'To make up for the want of holly, we were able to make use of a shrub with large red cone-shaped berries. Crosses, circles (emblems of eternity), and the sacred initials I.H.S. abounded. Over the altar was the text "The Word was made flesh," in native and in English: other texts about the church, such as "Unto us a child is born," "Emmanuel, God with us," &c. The King lent all his silver candelabra, so that when night

came, and the time for the midnight service arrived (11.30), the church was a perfect blaze of light. The Litany was first softly chanted in native. Then the bishop and clergy put on their best robes, and with a choir of twenty in surplices we walked in procession round the church singing "Adeste Fideles" (Draw near, ye Faithful). Then the Holy Communion service commenced—choral throughout. About thirty received. After the consecration of the elements we sang, on our knees, the beautiful hymn "Thee we adore a hidden Saviour" (Novello's hymns, Ancient and Modern).

'The church was densely crowded, but all conducted themselves in a most orderly manner. Service over at 1 A.M. A salute was fired from the battery, and then commenced such a grand night-scene as I can only faintly describe. Tar barrels were lighted on the top of Punchbowl Hill and rolled down. The King had provided twenty torches eight feet long, made of Kukui wood and cocoa-nut fibres dipped in tar—also an innumerable number of blue lights. We all formed in rank, the King, Bishop, and Mr. Synge walking together, the torchmen forming our bodyguard—and thus we proceeded through the town, singing carols. It was a beautiful night, and the effect was one never to be forgotten. The grand close was at the palace, where we at last arrived. The torches and blue lights were ranged round the small circular piece of water in the middle of the palace courtyard. The fountains played grandly, and the reflection of the torch lights, together with the clear brilliant moonlight of these latitudes on the water, and on the dark excited faces of the people, was very remarkable. At this moment some really good fireworks were let off, and rockets shot up into the air, amidst deafening shouts from a thousand voices for the King and Queen. Then we sang the grand old carol of "Good king Winceslaus;" and after a glass of champagne-punch we made the air ring with the National Anthem, and another round of protracted "Hurrahs," and so to bed.'

Such was the first Christmas eve in Honolulu. Its enthusiasm will provoke in some a smile of pity or an

expression of disdain. The circumstance of the king of a nation joining in the midnight revelry will enhance the ready sarcasm. David's dance before the ark will be remembered and cited,—his answer to the woman who expressed her scorn for her husband will be conveniently forgotten.

Before the return of Christmas eve Kaméhaméha was dead. In 1864 some slight festivities of the same sort were attempted, but they were flat in comparison of their predecessor. To the mourning Queen the return of the great Christian feast comes fraught with mixed emotions. The very brightness of past joy casts a distincter image in the dark water of the present; and she cannot help knowing by her own sad experience

'That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.'

The work and organization of the mission proceeded earnestly. Mr. Scott was established at Lahaina, on the neighbouring island of Maui, and the second town of importance belonging to the kingdom. Mr. Mason and Mr. Ibbotson remained in Honolulu. The services in the church were crowded, and on account of the insufficient size of the building, numbers of persons had to go away each Sunday from want of room; yet there were six services held in the church on that day. Mrs. Mason conducted a female school or college built by the King at his own expense. Schools and schoolteachers were the great necessity; and Mrs. Staley gave up the nursery governess she had brought with her from England to take charge of a school at Lahaina. Mr. Hyde having arrived to work as a schoolmaster, and Mr. Elkington having been ordained deacon by the bishop, farther education became possible; but the

teaching power was quite inadequate to the work that waited to be done.

Major Hoapili, who has since received deacon's orders, assisted as a catechist, and hopes were entertained that two females who were sent out to the mission from this country would have proved serviceable. Their going, however, was a mistake, and has been a cause of disappointment to the bishop.

Far different has been the result of the arrival of three sisters from the Devonport House, one of whom had to return after some months, whilst her two companions remained to devote their energies and lives in the cause they have espoused. All these ladies were in the Crimea during the Russian war; and the knowledge of medicine and surgery which one of them acquired has been of the utmost service to the natives among whom she is placed. They not only keep a girls' school at Lahaina, but visit the natives at their habitations. The Romanist Sisters of the Sacred Heart may be as indefatigable in their labours, but they do not visit or employ themselves beyond the walls of their convent.

One of the first institutions organized by the bishop in Honolulu was the Cathedral District Visiting Society, composed of ladies both native and English, for the sick, poor, &c. Of this the Queen became the head and patroness; and, it must be added, the most constant and devoted visitor in the homes of the poor and afflicted natives. Services were established in the Queen's Hospital and in the prison.

Besides the Industrial Female College at Honolulu, to which the government contributes 100*l.* per annum, the Cathedral Grammar School for boys was started, and an adult Sunday school opened. At Kauai, another island, a station was commenced with church and boys'

school. A brotherhood, composed of natives and foreigners, was also set on foot for the advancement of the activity of the Church, and for doing offices of mercy, &c.

Thus as much work was taken in hand as the bishop's limited staff could possibly hope to accomplish—more than the limited means of the mission could quite support; and the bishop had to forego part of the small stipend that was assigned to him. To all who took part in the mission it was a work and labour of love.

In consequence of misrepresentation, which, as a matter of course, soon assailed the English Church, and in answer to misstatements contained in a report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sitting at Boston, and the attacks made in Dr. Rufus Anderson's book, previously mentioned, the bishop delivered on the 1st of January, 1865, a pastoral address to his congregation, in refutation of the assertions which had been made, and to set the facts of the case before the world. This address was afterwards printed and largely circulated.

Later in the year, a Romanist having sought in print to invalidate English orders, Archdeacon Mason wrote a defence, in the form of a pamphlet, which, short as it is, is an admirable compendium of statement and argument: and it forms a useful handbook for churchmen in other places besides Hawaii, especially as it is conceived in an earnest and kindly temper.

The Episcopal Church in North America has expressed from the first promotion of the Hawaiian Mission her readiness and pleasure in joining her efforts with those of the English Church, and in going hand in hand with her on so great an errand of love. The supervening of the civil war at the moment when she would have lent

her aid, prevented for the time that joint action she had intended. As soon as the cloud of battle and the tramp of marching men had ceased to dim the eye and oppress the ear, the American Church redeemed her promise to us and to herself. At the commencement of 1865, the Reverend Peyton Gallagher arrived in Honolulu from the United States; a man in many ways highly fitted to give great assistance to the work and to strengthen the bishop's hands. Later in the year another clergyman, Mr. Whipple, brother of the Bishop of Minnesota, came. The former, when he approached the head of the mission, bore with him a flag to be carried by the bishop as his ensign when he directed his path across the waters to the islands of his diocese. As with the old prophets—Isaiah carrying the cup to the kings of the earth in turn, or Chenaanah with his horns of iron,—so the outward symbol of conquest and expansion attracted the eyes of all who saw that meeting, and perhaps led them to think that Christianity is a living and expansive power, and that other ocean groups beyond their own archipelago are still sitting in darkness, and mutely waiting till the torch of light and truth shall be handed to them, that they too may arise and shine.

In the autumn of 1865 the Bishop of Honolulu visited the United States, and was present at the congress of bishops held at New York. Resolutions were passed that the Church in America would assist with all her power the mission in Hawaii, and would support two clergymen there, to be under the bishop's jurisdiction. Material help was given, and the utmost kindness shown in the States to Dr. Staley.

The present ecclesiastical organization in Hawaii consists of—

The Bishop; the Right Reverend T. N. Staley, D.D.

Clergymen in Priest's orders—

The Venerable Archdeacon G. Mason, M.A.
The Rev. E. Ibbotson.
The Rev. Peyton Gallagher, M.A.
The Rev. H. B. Whipple.

(The two last are from America.)

In Deacon's orders—

The Rev. J. J. Elkington.
The Rev. W. Hoapili Kaauwai.

(The latter is the first ordained native.)

The lay members of the Synod consist of—

H.R.H. M. Kekuanaoa. (The King's father.)
The Hon. D. Kalakaua.
Judge Robertson.
The Hon. C. C. Harris: Attorney-General.
G. H. Luce, Esq.
D. Smith, Esq.
T. Brown, Esq.: Treasurer.

Another English clergyman is on his way to the islands, having left his preferments in this country for a period of three years, to take part in the work of the mission. And a gentleman trained in the college of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is making preparations to proceed there, and to build a church in some district where it is most needed.

The venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts pays a moiety of the stipend of two clergymen; the sister Society, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has also made grants to the extent of 1,200*l.* towards the purposes of the mission.

Thus the vital scion of an ordained and pure Church

has been 'grafted in' on the stock of the wild olive. It requires to be sheltered from rude winds and watched over against the canker which may sap its life. Watered by the prayers and donations of fellow Christians, and waiting always for a blessing from on high, it may grow and spread, and be a crowning joy to islands that long sat in darkness. But much requires yet to be done to make this effort successful in a large sense. It wants more clergy, more schoolmasters and mistresses, an endowment to place the mission on a secure and permanent basis, and to prevent the recurrence of appeals to other countries for large help. It requires a church in the capital, spacious enough to contain the usual congregations which attend the services, and sufficiently solid and handsome to take its place with the Roman Catholic cathedral and the two stone edifices of the American congregations. It is necessary that all who go forth to the work should be capable people; zealous, well instructed, and fine tempered. Those who go thither to procure a mere living, or to carry out their own religious hobbies, are worse than useless, and become a dead weight on the mission and its funds. One great element of prosperity must be the Christian lives of those lay residents and visitors in the islands who profess 'that worthy name,' and are the representatives of Christian England. Terrible scandals have occurred, even quite recently, in the conduct of our country people. Such misdoings sow doubt and contempt on a nation and Church, whose children profess not only to be themselves enlightened by religion, but to come among less happy peoples to communicate those blessings to them. Female help is especially needed: for in the present condition of the population of the islands, the assistance of English ladies, spotless in character, pure in spirit,

and possessing good abilities, is invaluable. More than all to be desired, are additions from such as have been prepared and trained in sisterhoods or under the superintendence of their parochial clergyman, and are able, as soon as they arrive in Hawaii, to commence systematically the offices of teaching in schools and at home, visiting the poor, consoling the sick and sorrowful—for even the work of consolation requires to be learnt—winning back the erring and fallen, and remedying and healing bodily hurts and illness in places where regular professional aid is not to be had.

But it may be thought that there is danger in pure and young women being thus brought face to face and in daily intercourse with the vicious and the impure. To religious and well-instructed women, however young, the danger apprehended is little or nothing. Vice will not assume to them its seductive mask; its naked 'features of such hideous mien,' are those she will present: whilst the effect on the sinful of a character full of holy love and sympathy is powerful beyond all other moral levers. One whose own pure life and intellectual endowments made us lament his defection from our Church, and dispirited us 'as when a standard-bearer fainteth,' remarks: 'We find, even among men, that sympathy is more or less perfect, as the holiness of the person is more or less so. . . . Just as a man becomes infected by the power of evil, he ceases to sympathise with others. . . . None hate sin but those who are holy, and that in the measure of their holiness. . . . To have sinned ourselves is not necessary to perfect our sympathy with sinners. Rather, it is the property of spotless sanctity to flow forth with the fullest stream of compassion. Who would mourn over a sister's fall so intensely as she who is all pure and full

of sensitive fear of so much as a sullying thought? To have fallen and to have repented could add nothing to her intense love and sorrow, to her absolute humiliation for another's transgression.' *

It will not be here attempted to combat—indeed there is not space—the prejudices which may have been conceived to the procedure of the English Church in Hawaii. With regard to ritual and the aid of music, there will be, in a church where both freedom and multitudinism prevail, differences of view as to the exact line of demarcation. If an ornate service, compared with the services customary with Calvinistic and other dissenting bodies, be the means of drawing the people to the church, as certainly seems to be the case; and if many who come to listen stay to pray, and good doctrine enter ears which were opened by sweet sounds, then, on the very ground of expediency, such services cannot be complained of. If this be taking men with guile, the great Apostle of the Gentiles is ready with an excuse for so acting, that 'by all means he might save some.' We need only add that musical and emblematical services were in daily use till the Jewish temple was changed for Christian churches, and that, notwithstanding this change, musical and emblematic services were continued certainly till the sixteenth century. We will not dispute the fact, that a religion that can preserve its fire and life without any adventitious aids is a higher and less sensuous worship than one which is helped by eye and ear and tongue and gesture, yet whilst men walk on earth, children, not angels, all helps are valuable that first lead men even to the door of religion. Such assistance is neither to be discarded or

* Manning's Sermons. 'The Sympathy of Christ.'

too much relied on; it can only be the humble handmaid to faith and good works. Its use must be proportioned to the taste and desire of the people, and according to the good the instrument effects. A little of the feminine mind is likely to mingle itself with the mental constitution of persons whose profession removes them from the more earthly and masculine walk of laics,—and female men are found in all professions,—and a little insidious love of dress and display will creep unawares into the hearts of good people, which, after all, might be occupied with feelings sterner, harder, and less innocent. And we must concede that, beginning in a genuine and reverential motive, the desire to decorate the house of God and to render holy worship attractive, minor details exercise a charm and afford relaxation to persons whose souls are deeply set on deeper things. As St. John the Divine used to recreate himself by playing with a tame partridge, so the arrangement of flowers, the embroidery of a stole, or the illuminating a text in illegible letters, may afford relief to minds weary with labour, and hearts heavy with the darkness and misery they see around them. Let us make tender allowance, therefore, for these non-essentials, and suppose that time and good sense will tame them, if ever they have exceeded, and keep them within their proper limits, and in due subordination to the whole system. The opponents of our Church are not to suppose that that Church erects means into ends, or thinks to secure success by arts or strifes or political manœuvre.

When Furius Cresinius, the Roman peasant, was accused by his jealous neighbours of sorcery, because his few diligently cultivated acres produced abundantly, whilst their great neglected estates brought forth but

little, he was cited before the tribunal and was commanded to bring the instruments of his magic with him. The honest man laid on the floor of the court his mattock, his hoe, and his rake; and when told to produce the apparatus of his black art, he pointed to his tools, and said, 'these are my only instruments of magic, except my bullock and my plough, which I left at the door. By these, together with the sweat of my brow by day and my anxious care at night, and the assisting labours of this my good daughter, have the crops which excite my rich neighbours' anger been won from the soil; and these are all the instruments of my thaumaturgy.' The judges immediately gave their suffrages in favour of Cresinius, and his accusers left the court with shame.

And thus it must be with the Church Mission in the Sandwich Islands, and with all Christian missions. It is not by detraction of others that they will seek to succeed, nor by asserting magic in sacraments, or erecting the omission of a ceremony into a deadly sin: salvation will not be paraded as a thing of albs and chasubles; neither will eternal life be taught as depending on crying 'glory!' at the hour of death, nor by making acts, in themselves indifferent, sins by act of legislature, and snares to weak consciences. The weapons of a successful warfare of the mission will be those of gentle love, forbearance, self-sacrifice, a consistent course; the evidence of a sound faith, diligent teaching and preaching; the frequent use of ordinances; the constancy of prayer; earnest care in educating the young and sheltering the lambs of the flock from contaminating influences; and, above all, the example in the missionaries and their families of a holy, unostentatious life, more eloquent than a thousand homilies.

Yet with all devotion, and anxious care, and after years of labour, the results may be very disappointing. It is very hard to train one individual in holiness, even when the affections and care of a life concentrate upon him. What then of the thousands of souls committed to a single clergyman? What of a people long inured to frightful impurity, to the traditions of idolatry, and brought up in invincible ignorance? Can the leopard change his spots? Can habits of centuries be transformed in a day? A very desponding opinion has been formed by some in the Hawaiian islands that nothing can be hoped for in the present adult generation. Ephraim is joined unto idols: let him alone! Terrible doom. And they think that all hope must be limited to the generation which has to succeed, by taking the children, newly-born infants even, and training them up in seclusion from evil that surrounds them. Happily, this view is not shared in by all who have given themselves to this particular work. Happily, bright examples are found of adult men and women among the natives who shine as lights, and send rays of hope into the beholder's heart. Cry, 'faint not!' therefore; but lay the hand resolutely to the plough. 'Look not on the dead bones, and dust, and difficulty; but on the promise. Yea, let us be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know our labour is not in vain in the Lord.'*

* Baxter.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### ACCESSION OF KAMÉHAMÉHA V. THE 'COUP D'ÉTAT.'

UNDER the style and title of Kaméhaméha V., Prince Lot Kaméhaméha, as he had been named by suggestion of the American missionaries—Prince Lota, as he was called by the native people—succeeded to the Hawaiian throne, on the 30th of November, 1863. Born on the 11th of December 1830, the present King was three years the senior of his deceased brother. With many features of resemblance, there were sufficient points of difference in his character to make him unlike Kaméhaméha IV. Possessed of great energy and firmness, he had shown large administrative capacity as Minister of Interior; and he still shows an unusual disregard for the mere externals of royalty, though he loves and maintains the substantial part—the power of his position.

The new King's first act was one of clemency. He liberated from prison certain persons confined under judicial sentence, and restored others to their civil rights which they had forfeited. Prisoners and malcontents seem, in all parts of the world, to have a valuable interest in the death of kings. His next step was to reorganize the Board of Health. He then turned his thoughts to a subject which, indeed, had occupied

them long before—the constitution of the kingdom, and he was dissatisfied with it.

By the articles of the constitution, given to the people in 1852 by Kaméhaméha III., it was incumbent on the successor to the vacant throne to take an oath that he would maintain the constitution of the kingdom whole and inviolate, and would govern in conformity therewith. The King abstained from taking this oath. There were components in the existing constitution which were in his mind objectionable, and he resolved to seize the opportunity for making reforms and bringing the kingdom into farther accordance with the most enlightened European monarchies. During his brother's reign, he had had leisure and means for observing the working of a system which contained the elements of democracy and puritanism. It will be necessary to recall in a few words the growth of this political system. Up to the year 1839, the Hawaiian Islands were governed by an absolute monarch, and upon strictly feudal principles. In that year the efforts of the American missionaries and ex-missionaries, who had given much useful assistance in governing the country, worked so far on the patriotic and bon-vivant King, Kaméhaméha III., as to induce him to sign a Bill of Rights, and the following year, to grant a constitution, by which absolute rule was yielded up, and irresponsible power exchanged for government by the three estates of king, nobles, and people.

Theoretically considered, the rights of men living in societies are hexagons. This is deducible from the antecedent proposition that the right of each individual, in isolation, extends as a circle round the person; and were the wills of all men of equal intensity, the circles would be of equal diameter. By the gravitating force

of society, a pressure being exerted on all the circles, they become converted into hexagons, coterminous and, again theoretically, impenetrable. But, in practice, stronger wills extend larger circles and harder outlines. Thus, other right-cells are crushed, deformed, and obliterated; and the will of a leviathan annihilates the operative will of millions, reducing them to nonentities, or mere rudimentary existences—nails, and screws, and unseen bricks in the social pyramid. It is rare indeed to find the leviathan voluntarily denuding himself of his monopoly. It is sometimes wrung from him by knowledge, which gradually re-animating the dead nails and screws, and restoring the elasticity of the crushed dissepiments, restores in part the personality of the multitude, and clothes them with some defigurated rights.

The King had never been out of his own small dominions. He had to be guided by the teaching and advice of the active-minded men who had already volunteered to assist in holding the reins of government, and who showed that they would not be averse to take the ribbons entirely into their own hands upon occasion. But at that time the King's advisers did not prompt to greater change than the conversion of absolutism into limited monarchy.

The scheme of government thus produced was naturally a hybrid one. Its promoters were Americans; they were missionaries, or persons who, having been missionaries, had left that calling for official or officious life. The constitution was a mosaic, to which the Pentateuch, the British Government, and the American Declaration of Independence each contributed a part. Yet, in spite of manifold defects, it was a revolution in the right direction. It lasted twelve years; and under it the nation advanced in civilization and prosperity.

The administration consisted of four departments; there was a minister of interior affairs, who was also premier; a minister of foreign relations, of finance, of public instruction; and an attorney-general. Statute laws were passed, and a little tinkering of the constitution began.

It seemed the fate of all political opinion, when acclimatized in Hawaii, to 'suffer a sea change.' So we see a tyrant taking up limited monarchy, democrats from the United States constituting a kingdom; and now we are to witness an early and ardent member of the Reform Club converted into a staunch Conservative, and an American attorney-general writing himself in one of his letters 'a rank Tory.'

With the infusion of fresh blood, it came to pass that, in 1850, the King recommended a new constitution, and appointed a commission of three persons to frame a new model. It was perfected, and, in 1852, was signed by the King, who died in something less than two years afterwards. This constitution was an advance on the former one; but a good deal of the Levitical element and some revolutionary rags remained in it. Dr. Judd was one of the three commissioners, his coadjutors being the chief Joane Ii, and the Chief Justice Lee. The two former of this triad will make their reappearance hereafter.

It happened that while much discussion was going on in Honolulu about the proposed new constitution, the Hawaiian consulate in China was represented by the senior member of the commercial house of Jardine and Company. At the same time, Sir John Bowring was governor of Hong Kong; and a correspondence was brought about between the latter and Mr. Wyllie on the same subject, and a draft of the constitution was

sent to Sir John for his opinion. The editor of Jeremy Bentham objected to the opening sentence, in which it is asserted that all men are created free and equal. Bentham had himself been the correspondent of several of the American Presidents; and in his 'Critical Examination of the Declaration of Rights,' exposed the pretension that 'all men are born free and equal.' 'No man ever was, is, or will be, born free; all are born helpless children, in a state of absolute subjection to parents, and, in many countries as slaves, in vassalage to owners; and as to equality, the statement is absurd, the condition of no two men, to say nothing of *all*, being equal, in the many gradations which exist, of wealth and poverty, servants and masters, influence and position.' Sir John, who had been Bentham's most intimate friend and executor, quoted the views of his master, which also appeared to his own mind incontestable. In spite, however, of any efforts which Mr. Wyllie could make, supported by the China correspondence, the constitution commenced with the old assertion, 'God hath created all men free and equal.' Article 12 pronounced that, 'No person who imports a slave, or slaves, into the king's dominions, shall ever enjoy any civil or political rights in this realm.' Article 19 prescribed, 'All elections of the people shall be by ballot;' and Article 78 established manhood-suffrage. Moreover, the king's power was checked and controlled by the strange institution of the *Kuhina-Nui*—an invention which, if borrowed from any other nation, must have come from Japan. This 'regulator' to the government machine, who stood above ministers, and, as it were, on the uppermost step of the throne, might be a man or a woman—indeed, was generally the latter. Her power at times must have been not a

little detrimental to the progress of business, since the constitution provided that 'the King and the Kuhina-nui shall have a negative on each other's public acts.' Among his, or her, miscellaneous offices, the Kuhina-nui had charge of the great seal of the kingdom, the royal standard, and the national flag. Also, in case of the King's death or minority, this solid shadow had to perform all duties, and exercise all powers ordinarily vested in the King. Such were some of the features of the constitution which existed till August, 1864.

Kaméhaméha V. came to the throne, as we have related, in November, 1863, and commenced the exercise of his functions, but without taking the oath prescribed by, and in favour of, his then constitution. Mr. Wyllie continued minister of foreign affairs; Mr. C. Gordon Hopkins, whose devotion to the Hawaiian nation was undoubted, received the portfolio of interior; M. De Varigny, formerly vice-consul for France, had charge of the finances; and his attorney-general was Mr. C. C. Harris, an American, who, like others of his nation on the bench and at the bar, was loyal, clear-sighted, and had definite views of government. It was not a bad team for the first stage out of town, and the start was promising.

The King had determined not to take the oath. From after occurrences, it is to be inferred that there were differences of opinion in the cabinet on this subject. The attorney-general, and the minister of foreign relations, however, appear to have been consistent in their support of the King's view, and a convention was resolved on to amend the constitution.

The word convention has to English ears an uncanny ring. It reminds them of Paris in 1792, and of England in 1848. Four of the five points in the charter

then clamoured for here, already existed in the Hawaiian constitution; viz. the ballot, universal suffrage, non-property qualification, and paid representatives. Annual parliaments were excluded because it was more convenient to members to assemble biennially. Now Kaméhaméha V. wished to get rid, by means of a national vote, of universal suffrage, and to replace it by a qualification based on income and property, united to a certain advance in mental acquirements and moral fitness.

The reason why a convention was necessary to the King's purpose was this—that though the constitution contained power for the legislature to amend it, the consent of two biennial parliaments was necessary to effect any reform. Such a delay was a strain on the King's patience, and he remembered that he had not yet taken what may be called the coronation oath. But the decisions of a specially convened body might be followed immediately by a session of parliament, and thus the reconstruction of the State might be completed within three or four months. This was the motive which decided the King's actions. A convention was accordingly summoned by proclamation—political feeling instantly responding throughout the islands. The prime objects of the King and his advisers were known, or felt to be, to destroy the radical element in the constitution, to base electoral *privilege* on a property qualification, and to give a larger place in the State to the King, allowing him to govern as well as reign. The native, long acccustomed to the feudal yoke, felt no aversion to this design; but it alarmed the minds of many settled foreigners—the American missionaries (but not all) being especially roused at the prospect of absolutism and aristocracy, Puseyism and Popery.

They raised an outcry in their districts, and led the people to think it their duty to send, not representatives, but delegates to the convention.

The King in the meantime was not idle. He made a progress through his dominions, attended by his faithful foreign-office minister. They delivered speeches—some judicious, some inopportune—and on the 7th of July, 1864, the convention was opened by the King, who, before proceeding to the court-house, attended service at the Episcopal church.

The business of the session began the following day, the three estates sitting in the same chamber. The composition of the convention was as follows:—First, the King—president. Second, nobles, sixteen in number, headed by the Kuhina-nui: of the remaining fifteen nobles eleven were natives, two Britons, and two Americans. Third, delegates, twenty-seven in number; the white skins and native blood being about equally divided. Judge Robertson was appointed vice-president; and M. de Varigny and the Attorney-general, though neither nobles nor representatives, attended, like the French Minister without portfolio, to assist in the debates. The House appointed Mr. Judd to be secretary; Mr. Judd named a native chaplain, and Anglo-Saxons for interpreter, reporter, and serjeant-at-arms.

Of the nobles, as might be expected, the very large majority seconded the King's views. One of this estate, however, possessed of the short but emphatic name of Ii, who had been one of the three commissioners engaged to construct the constitution of 1852, was less tractable and more democratic than his peers. He was also more talkative; and both from the frequency of his being on his legs, and from the two conspicuous vowels which composed his name, he quite fulfilled the clever

definition of *egotism*, viz. letting the private *I* be too much in the public *eye*.

The King, in his opening address, pronounced with great facility in English and in his native tongue, briefly informed the convention of the objects for which he had summoned them; and in all subsequent speeches he used the bi-lingual method. The reports published under the name of *The Convention* are printed in parallel columns of the two languages.

'History repeats itself.' The very question which so long agitated the assembled States-General in 1789, whether the three orders should sit in one or in separate chambers, excited in Honolulu long and obstinate discussion. It was nearly a week before the question was settled. The conclusion arrived at was that the three estates should sit and debate in one chamber. After which the rules were debated and carried; that relating to voting being that there should be united voting on the rules or by-laws, but constitutional subjects should be introduced by the representatives and put to the vote among themselves. If a resolution failed there in consequence of a minority, its quietus was made. If it passed the lower house, the votes of the nobles were taken on it; and after a majority of that estate, it was submitted to the King for his approval or veto.

Comparing these proceedings with those of the States-General in Paris, we see that whereas the Tiers Etat demanded that their 'brothers the nobles' should sit and vote in one, and that the People's Chamber, the wish of the Hawaiian representatives was rather to vote apart. Five weeks were required for the popular victory at the Luxembourg; nearly a week was occupied in Honolulu.

The rules established for discussion were good, and there was considerable ability shown in the management of the debates. The weakest part of the proceedings of this convention was, that when a question had been apparently definitively settled and a resolution passed one day, it was occasionally re-opened the next, under the form of a new resolution.

The business of the convention advanced rather slowly. Determined opposition to the King's design soon showed itself among the representatives; and a junto of some five or six members of the extreme left made a stand-up fight. One of the nobles, a cabinet minister also, whose views were opposed to the meeting of the Assembly, absented himself on the plea of illness, and retired to his own estate, nor returned till near the close, and that under pressing solicitation. The determined knot of root-and-branch men just mentioned consisted chiefly of Dr. Judd, ex-missionary, ex-minister, and ex-United-States-man; his son, the secretary; a rural missionary; a native lawyer; and a Scandinavian resident, named Knudsen. Among the constitutional weapons which the Opposition armed themselves with, sarcasm was not wanting; and a subject for their irony was easily discovered. It happened that in some outlying district the ballot-papers of the electors were collected in a *bucket*; and so greatly was this joke or this grievance worked, and so often was the pail returned to, that the convention was in considerable danger of being wrecked on that very small rock.

After three weeks of discussion, pauses, wrangling, and voting, the King himself withdrew for a time, from the real or assumed cause of indisposition. His Majesty's place was supplied in the interim by Judge Robertson and M. De Varigny. At last, came the great

questions of universal suffrage, and property qualifications in voters and representatives. The abolition of the Kuhina-nui had been easily managed. There was hard hitting about the suffrage. Yet the American party blundered when Mr. Knudsen drew a lamentable picture of the English people—poor, oppressed, starved, ignorant, and irreligious, all owing to the want of manhood-suffrage. His statements were derived from 'Mr. Joseph Kay, appointed by the University of Oxford to investigate the condition of the lower classes.' The reply came swiftly and hard from a chief, the Hon. D. Kalakana, a native who had never left the confines of home. He said, 'Mr. Knudsen had been very ready to give them instances of English poverty, which that gentleman considered arose from the fact of the people not having universal suffrage; but he forgot to say anything of the state of things in America, where universal suffrage did exist, and which was one cause of the present war. The statement of Mr. Knudsen referred to the social condition of England in 1851, but, had he been there in 1861, he would have found a very different state of things existing; for, within those years, great improvements have been made with regard to the poor-law and condition of the lower classes, though, no doubt, a portion of the manufacturing districts of England were now suffering in consequence of the American war. Mr. Knudsen also stated that purity of election existed in the United States, where the ballot system prevailed; but, according to reports of American papers, it seems as if there was not much purity of election existing from the ballot; but the reverse. This had been confirmed to him by a naturalized American gentleman, who was well known in California, who had told him (Mr. Kalakana) that "if

you wanted a man's vote in New York, just show him a revolver or a bowie-knife." In California, the result of universal suffrage was the establishment of a vigilance committee to preserve law and order.'

It is curious to see political events and persons transmitted through different media, or reflected back from a distance. Mr. Gladstone would probably find some amusement in seeing his views of the extension of the suffrage reviewed in the legislative assembly of the Sandwich Islands—which was done.

In the long and serious discussion on property and income qualification, dollars were pitted against education, and the natural right of all men to drop papers into ballot-boxes was sustained against both with the vigour of despair. It was Carlyle's 'Gigability' against the voting instinct of the natural man. Mr. Hitchcock led the van. 'Neither dollars nor want of dollars was the criterion of respectability.' Mr. Green, a missionary, followed on the same side, and presented the sad picture of a notorious thief being elected as a representative, and elections being decided by the constable of the district. These were the certain consequences of a legislation of voters. He held the right of universal suffrage as one of the greatest and dearest rights of a free people.

M. De Varigny, on the part of the King, inquired whether it were right to give a candle to a blind man to carry in a powder-magazine, or a vote to a man who could neither read nor write. Would representatives place an open razor in the hands of a baby, or the franchise in the hands of those totally incompetent to use it properly, or unable to read the name written or printed on a ballot?

On the 9th of August, the King was able to return

to his place at the convention, and he listened to the debate on this main question with considerable patience. Intermixed with some other subjects—as for instance, the kingly dignity, the King *quâ* King, opposed to 'chief magistrate'—the qualification discussion continued till the abrupt termination of the convention four days later; producing some excellent debate, and showing that the spirit of statesmanship was not wanting in that assembly. The most remarkable of the speeches were those delivered by two native representatives named Kahaleahu and Kaawahi. These addresses exhibit the powers and characteristics of the Polynesian mind in a very favourable light.

'May it please your Majesty, the nobles, and the delegates,' commenced Kahaleahu, 'a great deal has been said on both sides during this discussion, and much ability displayed both on the part of the ministry and that of the opponents among the delegates. The question for the convention to decide is, as to the expediency of allowing the very poor among the people the privilege of voting for representatives. . . . It is objected to this provision, that it is taking away the right of the people. The *right* of the people, without regard to property qualification, is protection for each in his person and the products of his industry. These are amply provided for under the laws, and therefore it is erroneous to say that any right of the people is taken away by the 62nd article.'

Mr. Kaawahi said, speaking of the disputed 62nd article, 'If I believed that it really was taking away a right from the people, I would very quickly support the motion to reject this article. . . . What were the motives of his Majesty in placing this article before us? Did he thereby intend to take away one of the

rights of the people? I do not think so. His Majesty is of the same race with his people; he is their sire; and whatever he sees is for their good, that he proposes, and whatever is detrimental to them that he withholds. Believing this, I decidedly object to the offensive language used before his Majesty about his taking away the people's rights. Neither the King nor his ministers have ever done, or attempted to do, anything of the sort. . . . I would ask the delegates to remember the words of the delegate for Makawoa yesterday, when he said the people of his district could take care of themselves, without any assistance from the ministry. Who and what are the ministry? Are they not the hands by which the King carries on the government? Are they not the servants of the people —of those of Makawoa as well as other places? . . . The delegate for Kaanapali says there are a great many impoverished people in his district. I am well aware of it, and also that they are a hard-working people, and able to earn a great deal more than the amount proposed in this article, and that there is plenty of employment to be had in the district. The delegate from Kaanapali says they have bought land from the Hon. Mr. Bishop. Well, there is plenty of fire-wood on that land, and the Lahaina sugar-mill wants it, but they don't bring sufficient. Then they have large plains on which to raise stock. Altogether, I cannot admit that they have any right to be impoverished; and if they are, it is certainly their own fault. Let them not object to a law which is for the benefit of the whole country from one end to the other. It is not a reasonable argument to put forward about the poverty of the people, preventing them from obtaining the privilege of voting, when we consider our position. Here we are pleasantly

situated as to climate; we can plough and plant and reap at any and all seasons of the year, without any winter or dry season to interfere with our labours. Employment is to be had in abundance, throughout the land, on the various sugar plantations, and labour is in demand. There is no lack of a market for our produce, for we are on the high way of commerce. The seas are open and free to the fisherman, the forests are waiting for the woodman's axe, and there are a hundred different branches of industry in every direction, open and waiting for the hands to improve them. Why, then, is this cry of *poverty* raised as an argument for striking out the property qualification, and permitting the idle to indulge in their dreams? If the people are made to understand and appreciate the great privilege of the ballot, it will be an incentive to industry, in order to choose whomsoever they may desire to represent them in the legislature.' But his Majesty's Opposition was not to be moved.

On the 13th of August, the King's patience had broken down. 'This is the fifth day of the discussion of this article,' said his Majesty. 'I am very sorry that we do not agree on this important point. It is clear to me that if universal suffrage is permitted, this government will soon lose its monarchical character. Thank you, delegates and nobles, for the readiness with which you have come to this convention, in accordance with my proclamation. As we do not agree, it is useless to prolong the session. And as at the time his Majesty Kaméhaméha III. gave the constitution of the year 1852, he reserved to himself the power of taking it away, if it was not for the interest of his government and people; and as it is clear to me that that king left the revision of the constitution to my predecessor and

myself; therefore, as I sit in his seat, on the part of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands, I make known to-day that the constitution of 1852 is abrogated. I will give you a constitution.' His Majesty requested ministers to remain at present in their respective positions, in order to avoid confusion and disturbance, and he then dissolved the convention.

It was, perhaps, time for the incubation to be over. The convention had been sitting five weeks with no profitable result. The obstinacy of the Opposition had defeated itself.

On the 20th of August, a week after the breaking up of the convention, the promised new constitution appeared. It omits the obnoxious axiom about 'free and equal,' abolishes the office of 'Kuhina-nui,' gives the King a larger place in the State, makes cabinet ministers more responsible, excludes the ballot, prescribes as the minimum qualification of a representative real estate of five-hundred dollars' value, and annual income of two hundred and fifty dollars; and of an elector, property of one hundred and fifty dollars, or twenty-five dollars a year rent on leasehold property, and seventy-five dollars yearly income, together with certain intellectual acquirements. It includes a stringent article on royal marriages, and on the succesion to the Crown; and, the King being unmarried, it provides for a new *stirps* for a royal family, should the present race become extinct.

Under the new constitution affairs have been working well. The prosperity of the islands has healthily increased. The public revenue is certainly not large: it is principally derived from duties on imports, added to some excise imports, poll tax, and a few other internal sources. The Custom's receipts for the year 1864 were as follows:—

| | $ | c. |
|---|---|---|
| Honolulu, viz:— | | |
| Import duties—Goods | 95,706 | 01 |
| ,, ,, Spirits | 29,368 | 16 |
| ,, ,, Bonded Goods | 6,416 | 36 |
| Blanks | 4,410 | 50 |
| Fees | 1,614 | 75 |
| Storage | 1,888 | 66 |
| Hospital Fund (Passengers) | 1,432 | 00 |
| Marine Hospital Fund (Seamen) | 1,104 | 87 |
| Buoys | 512 | 00 |
| Coasting Licenses | 1,535 | 72 |
| Passports | 219 | 00 |
| Interest | 508 | 05 |
| Wharfage | 11,222 | 91 |
| Fines and Forfeitures | 608 | 74 |
| Registry | 795 | 00 |
| Samples | 7 | 00 |
| Suspense | 10 | 00 |
| Total | 157,359 | 73 |
| Lahaina | 239 | 96 |
| Hilo | 1,348 | 56 |
| Kawaihae | 95 | 47 |
| Kealakekua | 5 | 00 |
| Koloa | 68 | 00 |
| Total | 159,116 | 72 |

And a comparison of wants supplied, and of internal productivity, shows :—

| | $ | c. |
|---|---|---|
| Value of Foreign Goods exported | 548,852 | 66 |
| ,, Domestic ,, ,, | 970,228 | 81 |
| ,, ,, furnished as supplies | 143,100 | 00 |
| Total | 1,662,181 | 47 |

The government has made, and is making, humane endeavours for the physical health and well-being of the people. In the face of a protraced and almost bitter opposition from well-meaning but mistaken persons, a measure was carried in legislature, under the succinct title of 'A Bill to Mitigate, &c.,' to check and abate the terrible ravages consequent on prostitution and licentiousness. Seeing by the example of Europe and

America that no penal enactments will abolish sin, they did see that by police regulations some of the misery, disease, and death which it inflicts may be avoided and controlled. Curative measures were also taken, and a ward of the Queen's Hospital was appropriated for patients suffering from the consequences alluded to; but this arrangement was not effected without an opposition as violent and abusive, as that which impeded the 'Bill to Mitigate.' Thus does bigotry with closed eyes, and the sword of its zeal, cry havoc, and cuts down as an enemy the messenger of peace.

A disease presenting several of the signs of *lepra* having latterly made its appearance in the islands, a careful observation of symptoms has been instituted, and Dr. Hillebrand, who has been despatched to China, who after an autopsy of cases in the three leper villages near Canton, and elsewhere, has written a valuable memoir on the Chinese leprosy. It is to be feared that little doubt remains that the same scourge, possibly modified, exists in Hawaii, especially as many Chinese are settled there. Already the government has established an hospital for patients, supposed to be so suffering, four miles from Honolulu, and has arranged that all cases in an advanced stage of disease shall be removed to a settlement on the island of Molokai, at a greater distance from the community.

The progress of sugar-making and other branches of internal production demanding more labour than the islands can at present supply, the importation of coolies from China was determined on. Dr. Hillebrand was commissioned to proceed thither and superintend the emigration of a sufficient number of willing labourers. Two vessels freighted with coolies have already arrived, bringing about five hundred labourers. Every provision

for their physical and moral welfare on their passage was made, and a considerable number of females—twenty-five per cent.—were included. The labourers arrived in good health and condition. It happens that the Sandwich Islands are one of the few places to which the Chinese do not object to emigrate. They know them as the Tang-heang-shan,—the sandal-wood islands, or 'isles of the fragrant wood.' They think of them as being near China, and on the road to Kin-shan (California); and they know that their countrymen who have settled in them are well off. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the Hawaiians themselves cannot be made more available in agriculture, to the exclusion of immigrants.

The 'Hawaiian Gazette,' which has already been spoken of as the government organ, is an able and excellently conducted newspaper. Of a series of enlightened articles which have already appeared in its columns, may be mentioned those on native industry, cotton, pearl-fishing, the beche-de-mer, sugar-planting, draining, leprosy, the vine, coffee, coolie labour, cochineal, and phosphate fertilizers.

From the late Sir William Hooker at Kew, from China, and other places, the Agricultural Society of Hawaii has received new plants, seeds, birds, and animals, with a view to their acclimatization. '*Le Progrès de l'Oceanie*,' which is the name of one of the lodges of Freemasons in the islands, seems at present to find its counterpart in fact.

There is little more to add. The flowing tide of time still casts some fresh events or facts to our feet, which we will continue to gather into our wallet; and possibly at some future day we may sit on the higher shore, and sort what we have collected, and make them

ready for the inspection of others. In May, 1865, the Queen Dowager of Hawaii left Honolulu for Europe, in H.M.S. 'Clio,' which conveyed her to Panama; and on the 16th of July she set foot on English ground at Southampton, receiving salutes from the ships and forts.

It had been a cherished plan of the Queen and her late husband to visit Europe together; a pleasant dream which was not to be so realized. Several considerations weighed with Queen Emma, inducing her still, though now alone, to make the journey. The cordial reception which awaited her she could not with certainty have foreseen, and it must have afforded her extreme gratification. Those whom kindness and curiosity immediately drew about her modest majesty saw in her a presentation of royalty already familiar to them, and in which they had been trained to sympathise; they saw a widowed lady, of gentle and dignified manner, assuming nothing to herself, struggling with a heart sorrow as deep as it is constant; well-read in our history and literature; looking with eyes full of interest, though often clouded with tears, at sights and scenes well-known to her by report and description; realising her previously formed conceptions, and comparing them with their realisation; much enjoying, yet feeling, wherever she goes,

'That there hath passed away a glory from the earth.'

In the excitement and fatigue of almost constant travel, and change of scene and persons, which she went through for some months in England, so different from the more even tenour of life in her native land, the Queen was aided by good health, a light burthen of years—for she was under thirty—the pleasurable stimulus of variety and novelty, and the tender consideration

of those among whom she went. She was also upheld by a steadfast, earnest piety, which, lifting her above the earth, made its roughnesses and labour less perceptible. So that whilst she knows that nothing can give back the past, which has been

'For ever taken from her sight,'

she has found that she can

'rather find
Strength in what remains behind;
In the primal sympathy
Which, having been, must ever be;
In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering;
In the faith that looks through death.'

# CHAPTER XXX.

## ROBERT CRICHTON WYLLIE.

NO account of the Hawaiian kingdom could now be considered complete without a notice of the life and services of the statesman whose name stands at the head of this chapter. The telegram which brought the news of his death on the 19th of October 1865, made it possible to speak in the present history of the powers and character of a man whose devotion to the land of his adoption was as remarkable as it was disinterested. During his lifetime, references to his labours or to his idiosyncrasies would have seemed the language of flattery or of unfriendly criticism; but now it is the decent act of his survivors to linger a short space beside his grave, to recount his somewhat eventful career, and to trace in bas-relief upon the marble of his tomb a sketch of the man.

Robert Crichton Wyllie, who for several years before his death occupied the post of Minister of Foreign Relations, or as we should say, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was born at Hazelbank in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire, in the year 1798. Without claiming to belong to the family of 'Sir Matthew Wyllie of that ilk,' he came of respectable parentage, and his father appears

to have been possessed of the lands of Hazelbank. His mother, from whom he derived his second Christian name, could trace her descent from the Admirable Crichton. Like many others of his nation, Mr. Wyllie did not go back to his country to settle there, but loved it dearly—perhaps even more dearly—at a distance. He carried on his mental associations with the place of his birth to the end; magnifying its importance a little, perhaps, through the fairy lens of time and separation. By the pre-decease of an elder brother he inherited the homestead where he was born, an estate of a few acres, which the proprietors around him would have designated 'just a house and kale-yard.' But the little property was dear in the eyes of a stranger in a strange land; and in writing to the author, in 1860, of his naturalization in Hawaii, he says, 'I have always carefully preserved my native allegiance as the very humble "Bonnet Laird" of Hazelbank, Ayrshire.'

It is an honourable incident in his history, that on revisiting his native land after his first long absence in South America, during which period of fourteen years he had prospered in worldly wealth, he built a comfortable house at Hazelbank,—not for himself, for he never inhabited it after his parents' death, but as a dwelling for his father and mother. Mr. Wyllie completed his education at the college in Glasgow by qualifying himself for the surgical profession, and he received a diploma before he had attained the age of twenty. He made one or more voyages to the North Sea as surgeon; met with all the hardships of that stormy navigation, and was wrecked three times. At some period of his early life he proceeded to our Australian colonies, and applied himself for a time to sheep-farming. Somewhat later, he visited the Southern States of America;

and, next, found his way to Chili, and became a partner in a successful firm at Valparaiso, known as Begg, Wyllie, and Company. His life in Chili was active and adventurous. He rode about the wild territories of that young republic with loaded pistols at his girdle collecting the silver dollars due to his house of business. Whilst there, he acquired a perfect familiarity with the Spanish language, which he spoke and wrote with the fluency of a native of Spain.

He also allowed his surgical and medical knowledge to be made available, and attended the inmates of several of the convents and nunneries. From these he would receive no fees; and the form which their gratitude took was at once elegant and costly. The religious houses presented to him, on three or four occasions, small trees, from the branches of which hung gold and silver coins, ornaments and valuable trifles. He preserved these graceful memorials untouched; and used, when afterwards residing in London, to display them on his dinner table with satisfaction and pardonable pride. In Valparaiso Mr. Wyllie accumulated in a comparatively short time a fortune which even in these advanced days would be called considerable. In 1824, the daring of the man in his early life is exhibited by a voyage which he made across the vast ocean from Mexico to India, in a small vessel of fifty tons burthen —scarcely more than a boat in size—and uncoppered; visiting on his way the islands of the South Pacific. In a letter written in the year 1860, Mr. Wyllie refers to this voyage, and mentions the little craft as his 'Yacht Daule.' We next meet with him in Mazatlan. With the same love of adventure wihch so greatly addicted him to roving about the world, he took charge of a cargo of cattle and sheep for India. This voyage led

to a new phase in his career, by introducing him to a gentleman whose brother was engaged in mercantile business in London and Calcutta. As a result of this meeting, Wyllie proceeded to England and joined the house spoken of, the title of which thence became Lyall, Wyllie, and Company. During the time this partnership subsisted, Mr. Wyllie occupied a house in Mayfair jointly with a friend, to whom I am indebted for several of the particulars here given. He became an early member of the Reform Club, and was well known there. Some who read these pages may still remember him, a well-dressing man, of animated but rather tedious conversation, and possessed of a remarkably retentive memory.

Wyllie had once or twice in life made some heavy pecuniary losses; and after about four years of London routine, dinner-parties, and Reformism, the bachelor friends broke up their joint establishment, and 'parted like two rivers;' one to Italy, 'where silvery Padus gleams;' the other, the subject of this memoir, to America; being drawn thither with the view of saving or gaining back part of his funds, and acting for the interest of others, bond-holders of some of the repudiating States.

To walk down one street instead of another may change, as some one has remarked, the whole course of our life: for by so doing we may meet or miss a person who can influence our future. This happened to Wyllie. In America he fell in with General Miller, whom he had known before at Valparaiso, and whose career in the Chilian war of independence had been brilliant and remarkable. By Miller, who had been appointed Consul-General in the Hawaiian Islands for Great Britain, he was persuaded to accompany him thither, and he arrived

at Honolulu in March 1844. It was not long before his business talent was called into use. General Miller having to leave the islands for the purpose of visiting Tahiti, Mr. Wyllie was appointed acting English Consul, in which capacity he continued about a year. On Miller's return to his post, Wyllie was invited to enter the service of King Kaméhaméha III. The portfolio of Foreign Affairs was entrusted to him on the 24th of March 1845, and he continued to act as Foreign Minister till his death in October 1865.

And now commenced the real work of his energetic life. He cast himself entirely into the part he had accepted, and left no labour unapplied, no means unused to consolidate the dynasty of Kaméhaméha, to establish the independence and security of the island kingdom, to advance the country of his adoption in material prosperity, in social advance, and in the standing it was to take among the family of nations. His industry was prodigious; his foreign correspondence voluminous; his mind was omnivorous. A contributor to the 'Hawaiian Gazette' thus writes of him, at the commencement of his career in the islands: 'His activity and deep interest in Hawaii Nei is fully shown in his notes published in the "Friend," during the very year of his arrival (1844); in which he treats of almost every subject of value and interest to the country, from the premiership to the cultivation of the *taro* plant. His remarks, addressed a generation ago, may seem crude and sometimes odd to us; but we affirm that they contain germs of good, by no means developed even in the year of grace 1865. His ideas of a parochial clergy may be deemed highly inappropriate, but his hints as to the establishment of schools of art at the capital are well urged. It is true that he refers here to the

mechanical arts, but manufactures necessarily entail the fine arts of design; and the fine arts are a real element of true civilization, however much the ignorant may presumptuously despise them. In treating of so stern a subject as political economy, it is rather amusing to find a "Note on Society" and on "Foreign Ladies" all jumbled between the "Whale Fishery," "Oath of Allegiance," and "Small-Pox;" and his remarks on their "personal charms" are as gallant as they are, no doubt, exact. Another note, on "Native Houses," has never received the attention which the subject demands at the hands of the interested.'

In fact, Mr. Wyllie's mind was eminently discursive, but his purpose was settled and definite. Like the needle of the compass, trembling yet constant, some minds make nutations to passing ideas, and are not inattentive to the minor subjects which approach them sideways, but claim them for incidents and affluents to the stream of their design; yet in the somewhat wider path they pursue, they keep, after all, the mean line of their true direction.

Mr. Wyllie's high endeavour, that from which he never swerved, but devoted his energies till his dying day, was the independence and advance of the Hawaiian nation. He saw beneath the rust and stain of ignorance and supineness of the native race the true metal. He saw there was good material, if he could save it. He also saw the great importance of the position of the islands geographically, and how necessary it is that they should not fall into the possession of any one great maritime power. Their central position to the coasts of so many vast countries made it apparent that their office was to be cosmopolitan: and to make them so, their independence, guaranteed by all the great nations,

was the object earnestly to be sought. His dream was of a joint treaty to be signed in good faith by the civilized governments of Europe and America. Did his dream embrace the condition that a treaty should never be torn?

To carry out his object, he established or increased diplomatic correspondence with all countries. Boxes of papers in my own archives witness his industry. In four years his letters to Sir John Bowring, principally concerning the treaty question, filled five large volumes. His handwriting being nearly illegible, made his letters seem longer than they were; and his secretary was kept writing day and night, and the utmost order was observed in his correspondence. When not otherwise occupied he would set the printing-press at work, and distribute to different countries masses of state documents, commencing twenty years before. He nearly ruined some of the smaller monarchies in postage, for all these volleys of papers were charged the full rate as letters. The expenses of printing so crippled the treasury of his own government, that restricted grants to the foreign department compelled Mr. Wyllie, much to his chagrin, to give up printing documents.

In all his efforts to secure Hawaii from foreign 'protection' or 'annexation,' Mr. Wyllie entertained no *arrière pensée* in favour of the country his own predilections might naturally have chosen to see the possessor of this 'pivot group.' England was to lead the way in the treaty of guaranteed independence. Nor did he neglect countries because weak or inland. Italy was appealed to two years ago; and even Switzerland was not neglected. Should the Swiss ever send a fleet into the Pacific, it will be as kindly entertained as the Russian fleet was when at Honolulu.

He, indeed, brought to his task working powers of no ordinary capacity, and a memory tenacious in the extreme for facts and dates—at least for those in which he had himself been in some way concerned. Most persons have occasionally met, in public or in private, with such memories; have wondered at them, and set them down as a nuisance. In Mr. Wyllie's speeches, and in his correspondence, he would refer to words which had been written or uttered twenty years before; would send his hearer or his correspondent to back numbers of extinct periodicals, or to despatches long since buried, too deep for resurrection, in boxes of archives. If, like Mr. Carlyle or some French writers, we were to summarize the whole man in an epithet, we should name Mr. Wyllie 'Ad Referendum.' This tendency to discursiveness and parenthesis made its possessor a bad debater. It exhausted the patience of his auditors; and it is noticeable, in reading the prolonged discussions which took place in the convention of 1864, that Mr. Wyllie was frequently called to 'Question,' and on more than one occasion sat down without finishing his speech. This was an imperfection: and yet, who can say that it was a material one in a nascent community where people were feeling their way as best they might to enlightened institutions? And above the slight obscurities which surrounded the base, the strength and purpose of the man rose high and clear. His desire was to conciliate the world: and he was wise in perceiving the danger of a great power making a *casus belli*, and snatching up the islands in a fit of anger or of outraged honour; and also the danger of a strife in their immediate neighbourhood, when, like the frog in the fable, they would be exposed to being trampled to death by one of the belligerent oxen, with-

out his even knowing that he had done any mischief. Mr. Wyllie was quite in earnest; and occasionally, when money was necessary for carrying out his endeavours, and the treasury could not, or would not, immediately give him the means, he would make his own private resources available to the political object he had in hand. Not that he was careless about money; he was rigidly exact in his transactions, and insisted on others with whom he had dealings being so too: but he knew the time to scatter as well as the time to save. He was above any tortuous policy. He desired beyond all things that the Hawaiian islands should be known. The publicity of their existence in the world he looked upon as essential to their being and their independence; and he wished that they should stand fair and justified with their great compeers. As to the nation itself, he laboured for its wealth, development, and moral condition; for universal justice and for intellectual culture. If he did not actually select the motto adopted in the national arms, he at least was a thorough believer in the sentiment it expresses:—

UA MAU KEEA KA AINA KA PONO.

BY RIGHT THE LIFE OF THE LAND IS PRESERVED.

In 1861 Sir John Bowring, who had been previously acquainted with Mr. Wyllie, was commissioned by the Hawaiian Government as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to effect the great scheme of a general treaty with Hawaii. I select from a communication which Sir John has made to me, and in which he very highly eulogises the late Hawaiian Foreign Minister for his ability, untiring diligence and oneness of purpose, the following passage:—

'Mr. Wyllie did not look as many look to the jealous rivalries of the great powers as a security against the intrusion of any one of them upon Hawaiian independence, though to a certain extent that security exists,—for it is certain that neither Great Britain, the United States, France, nor Russia would regard with complacency or indifference the annexation of the islands to any but itself, and none of them would probably be disposed to encounter the odium and incur the risks which the overthrow of a national and popular monarchy, and the usurpation of a remote sovereignty would bring with it.

'It was not however to the fears or rivalries of the influential governments of the world that Mr. Wyllie looked for the tranquillity and security of Hawaii—but to the establishment of amicable relations with every people, whether mighty or impotent—to a legislation dealing with all alike in a spirit of equal commercial liberality—giving special privileges to none, but inviting all to trade on equal and easy terms—in a word, he would have made the islands a welcoming centre for the grand circumference of the Pacific, and have made free intercourse the foundation of international law.

'A succession of treaties with the different European and American powers were the natural instruments for giving effect to this policy, and such treaties exist with the principal monarchies and republics of the eastern and the western hemispheres. They recognise equality of condition as the groundwork of mutual obligation. In the solitary case of the treaties with France some great privileges were granted to the wines and spirits of that country as a compensation for supposed claims, but the influence of this preferential legislation has failed—as a narrow and selfish policy generally fails—and while the trade with the United States, with Great Britain and her colonies, has progressed and prospered, that with France is insignificant and declining. Hawaiian subjects enjoy in all the leading communities of the world the privileges of the citizens of the most favoured nations; and foreigners settled in the Hawaiian islands are bound by the same laws and regulations as the natives themselves. In all the later treaties a clause has

been introduced by which the contracting powers agree that any question which is not amicably settled by diplomatic correspondence be referred to the arbitration of some friendly power.

'It is to the honour of the late King of the Belgians that he expressed a desire that his country should give an example of forbearance and humanity by which the arbitration of the sword should be superseded by the amicable intervention of a pacific tribunal, and it will not be forgotten that on more than one occasion some of the greatest powers of the world have consented to accept of his decision, and to avoid any appeal to arms.'

Mr. Wyllie's love of work was as remarkable as his affection to the country for which he worked. He loaded himself with labours; at one time taking on himself two other departments of administration in addition to his own portfolio, and writing the reports of all three. Moreover, he engaged at times in commerce, and devoted himself, especially in the latter part of his life, to sugar cultivation. He also kept up his private correspondence with friends in Europe. The present King is probably as hard a worker as his Foreign Minister was; and it is a question whether an enervating climate tells most on the energies of a native or a foreign resident. A secret about both these laborious persons is that both were early risers and both were unmarried.

Mr. Wyllie's zest for work was a bulimia. It did not require the salad of praise or the sauce of poverty. If he were at all incited by 'the last infirmity of noble minds,' his ambition was not conspicuous as egotism in his communications with others. Neither does he seem to have been much impelled by the desire of posthumous fame,* purchased dearly by one man who lives

* He did not write his own memoirs; nor was I aware till engaged on this slight sketch that he had made any preparations by which others

miserably through seventy years, in order that the world may be startled a week after his death by hearing that he has left half a million of money behind him; purchased cheaply by another, who buys an eternity on the Table of Benefactors in his parish church, by giving the produce of 5*l.* to be distributed 'on Lammas Day, to twelve poor widows, for ever.'

Of all the bubbles which men blow and then pursue, posthumous fame is the most hollow. Present fame is unsubstantial enough; 'the breath of the people being but air, and that often not wholesome:' but the praise of which we speak is only the shade of this shade, and a sound which can never fall upon the ear of him to whom it appertains. Some noble natures, indeed, as they steer down life's swift river, blow a blast, which the echoing rock on shore—a people's approbation—is glad to resound and repeat. But, alas! so rapid is the current which hurries the hero onward, that he is swept past ere the echo he has wakened can reach and stir his heart. Yet, knowing this, men go on laboriously laying up a treasure which is to be inherited by

> 'Death, the skeleton,
> And Time, the shadow:'

Oblivion stands by, and smiles at having spared an immaterial voice, whilst she hides the substance in an unremembered grave.

Neither did Mr. Wyllie seem affected by desire which acts on some of his fellow-countrymen, of returning to the land of his nativity and to his 'brither Scots' in the

might be enabled to construct a biography. But I now learn with pleasure that his papers will be confided to the hands of a lady, a countrywoman of our own, to whom our literature is already indebted: and in the selection of Miss Ross as his biographer, Mr. Wyllie has shown discrimination and wisdom.

evening of life, of enlarging his little patrimony and living the life of a laird, which he would have been able to do with the ample means he had acquired, and the name he had justly earned by his talent and energy. He does not seem to have formed any such plans. One of his last intentions, it is true, before his rather unexpected death, was to have visited Europe; but this design appears to have been rather with a view of benefiting his health, and acting in some political capacities, than under the idea of a permanent residence in Scotland.

Such considerations did not move Wyllie much. He had adopted a new and beautiful country, and he clung faithfully to the land of his adoption. He had done much for its institutions and its people; and doing benefits, though it often fails to beget gratitude in the objects, generally does breed in the doer the desire to do yet more. And he was not the man to turn capriciously aside after a new quarry. He laboured because he believed it necessary to the State that he should do so. He laboured because he loved work, and would have laboured on, as numerous official men do, because the office they have undertaken lays it daily on them, and they both impel the wheel, and are dragged onward by the wheel which they impel. They have swum voluntarily towards a whirlpool, but being there, they are no longer masters of themselves, but must swim in the circle whether they will or no. Such men find their rest in talking of the repose which they hope some day to enjoy. So Wyllie spoke and wrote with delight of the necessity to himself of leaving office and retiring to his Princeville estate. This property, situated in the Hanalei valley on the island of Kauai, the 'Eden of the Hawaiian group,' combines in itself almost every

conceivable beauty of nature. At Lanihuli, the name of the immediate village, he had built a charming house, of one storey, a hundred feet long and forty in width, with a broad verandah running the entire length. A verdant lawn behind lost itself in shrubberies of flowering plants, above which a row of *kukui* trees gave their shade. Among the blossoms of the underwood mingled the rich scarlet berries of the *kikania*. The slopes of the hill on which the house is built, profusely covered with the *guava*, led downwards to a bright rushing stream, its banks grown with ferns and other plants, which pours its meandering current into a natural bathing pool surrounded with embowering thickets, where Musidora might have unveiled without a blush, lulled by the breeze sporting in the branches overhead, and by the plash of the waterfall by which the stream finds its exit. About the house a grove of loaded orange trees offered itself to all the senses, and the graceful pandanus drooped the shelter of its fan-like leaves. In front a lawn, more studiously kept, terminated in a terraced wall, on which beds of beautiful flowers were planted with taste, and, especially after a shower, made the whole air balmy with their odour. On one side of his dwelling the eye was led through the greenery of the valley, and on the other looked on the high bluffs running for miles along the coast and on the fat pastures at their feet, where hundreds of cattle were grazing; whilst far beyond all, the blue waters of the Pacific and the azure sky of the tropics blended into one. Such was the paradise which invited Mr. Wyllie: but not this even to 'idlesse all;' for his sugar plantations, mills and machinery, were at hand, so that even the rest which he desired would have been tempered with

activity. But he never attained that evening life at Princeville, but died in official harness at his villa in the Nuuanu valley near Honolulu, which he named Rosebank.

An almost royal funeral was granted by a grateful sovereign to his faithful minister. There is not space here to describe the service in the English cathedral, the mustering of troops, the attendance of the masonic bodies, in which Mr. Wyllie had attained high rank, or the final procession at night by torch-light, when his corpse was carried to its last earthly resting-place in the new royal mausoleum. The burial-place of the Hawaiian Kings in the Nuuanu valley having been completed, this opportunity was taken for removing into it all the coffins containing the remains of the royal family. The 'Hawaiian Gazette' of the 4th of November 1865 contains a complete and interesting account of this procession, the order of the coffins, and the inscriptions on them. The earliest in date of the Hawaiian chiefs were Liloa and Lonoi Kamakahike, whose bones were brought from the secret place in which, according to ancient Hawaiian custom, they had been concealed, and were placed in one coffin. Liloa was the father of the celebrated King Umi, the progenitor of the present royal family, who is supposed to have ruled about five hundred years ago.

In Mr. Wyllie Hawaii has lost a sure and strong friend. It is too soon yet to speculate what changes may be the consequence of his death. He was the Nestor of the Council, the adviser of Kings, an example of industry, and a benefactor to the native race. Poor Hawaii may perhaps have occasion to say, with the Tekoan herdsman, 'By whom shall Jacob arise, for he

is small!' It is such men as Wyllie to whom King and people and foreigners also still must look; and whilst their searching eyes glance round the horizon, their lips may prayerfully exclaim

EXORIARE ALIQUIS!

# APPENDIX.

## CORAL ISLANDS.

IT is the general assumption that coral islands are built up from the bottom of the ocean by the unaided labour of lithophytes. Doubts of this fact have, however, been entertained and expressed. Captain Wilkes, who commanded the United States Exploring Expedition (1838—1842), has stated his decision, that coral islands cannot possibly be entirely the work of zoophytes. He pronounces the labours of these minute animalculæ inadequate to produce effects so enormous, and says that the appearance of the reefs themselves contradicts such a presumption; and he adds that Darwin's ingenious theory of an equal growth and subsidence of coral taking place is at variance alike with the configuration, extent, and general construction of the reefs. Darwin argues thus:—From the limited depth at which reef-building polypifers can flourish, one ought to conclude that both in atolls and barrier-reefs the foundation to which the coral primarily is attached has subsided, and that during the gradual depression of the base of the coral, reefs have grown upward. He says this will satisfactorily explain their outline, general form, and distribution; that the existence of reefs and islands dispersed in large tracts of ocean, which islands and reefs are formed by the growth of kinds of coral, the insects of which cannot live at great depths, is inexplicable, except on the theory that the base to which the reefs are first attached slowly and successively sinks whilst the corals grow upwards; that no positive facts are opposed to this view, &c. ('Voyages of the Beagle.')

If we consider the stupendous workmanship required to

upheave a reef hundreds of miles in length,—and such exist; that on the north-east coast of New Holland and New Caledonia extending four hundred miles,—or islands many hundred square miles in area, and believe the lithophytes' labour to be a sufficient cause, it requires a credulity as to Nature's workings such as commonly existed before the time of Bacon, and even that of Boyle, but which has since been rebuked by experimental philosophy. Soundings made by Beechey, Flinders, and others, show that depths of two and three hundred feet of water sometimes occur near the raised reef, within the enclosure of lagoon-islands, whilst outside the depth is often unfathomable. Wilkes found no bottom with a line of 150 fathoms (900 feet) at that distance from the perpendicular cliffs of Aurora Island; and Dana says that within three-quarters of a mile from the southern point of the island of Clermont Tonnere, the lead brought up suddenly at 350 fathoms (2,100 feet) and then dropped off again and descended to 600 fathoms (3,600 feet) without reaching bottom. The lagoons within the circular reefs are, however, generally shallow in comparison, and a great depth inside is exceptional.

In the Indian Ocean and Coral Sea still deeper soundings have been made than those mentioned. Dr. Maury ('Physical Geography of the Sea') quotes a letter from Mr. Brooke stating that the sounding-rod reached bottom in the Indian Ocean with a line of 7,040 fathoms (42,240 feet). It must, however, be observed that the length of line does not always express the perpendicular distance, as there is always a driftage of the line, sometimes a very great one. Maury mentions a specimen of the bed of the Coral Sea brought up with Brooke's sounding-rod at a reported depth of 2,150 fathoms,—two miles and a half.

Mr. Cheever, in his volume on Hawaii,* has given an interesting chapter on the subject of coral formations. He reasons that as some of the reefs, lagoons, and islands of coral

* 'Life in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Heart of the Pacific,' &c. By the Rev. H. T. Cheever. London, 1851.

rock rise from the sea-bottom at an unfathomable depth, to the conditional height required for the lithophytes to work, the lower portion or foundation must be produced by different and independent causes; and he seeks such agencies in sudden submarine galvanic action, sufficient to separate from the water of the ocean and deposit ridges and piles composed of lime and other substances existing in sea-water in enormous quantities, and so universally diffused as to be ever at hand for any purpose. Giving full weight to the amount of material combined with or in solution in the water of the depths of ocean, it is, nevertheless, difficult to conceive a single voltaic action (and it must be single or the effect would not follow) sufficiently strong to raise from the bottom a ridge of separated lime many thousand feet in height, and having a base wide enough to support such a superstructure. As an auxiliary argument Mr. Cheever quotes the opinion of another missionary in the South Seas, Mr. Williams, who puts forward a theory that the calcareous coverings of marine molluscs are not necessarily secreted by the animals themselves, but suggests that they only secrete a sort of gluten, to which calcareous particles in the water adhere, and form a shell. Mr. Williams had probably in his thoughts the common caddis worms found in fresh water. Mr. Cheever goes on to say:—'Let there be a chemical precipitation of the minute calcareous particles floating in sea-water, by any means, and there might be formed a reef—agreeably to the experiment in which the passing of a stream of electric fluid through water having calcareous and siliceous particles in solution produces stone. The lightning in tropical regions, and the electric fluid engendered by submarine and other volcanoes which abound in the South Seas, may thus produce an effect adequate to the formation of those wonderful and invaluable structures. This is a much more rational theory to account for the existence of immense coral reefs and coral islands in the Pacific than that alluded to above, which supposes them wholly the work of saxigenous polypes or lithophytes.'

We need not commit ourselves to the lightning theory, or to

that which supposes the inorganic matter suspended in sea-water to become organic by mere adhesion and agglutination to a living animal, to admit readily that the quantity of material suspended in sea-water is sufficient for the production of very extensive formations; and that its elimination is very rapid. Its lime, magnesia, soda, &c., are diffused so generally and so abundantly, that there wants but the creative word and the necessary condition, to cause them to pass into our sight as organic forms. The growth of shelled animals in tropical seas is astonishingly rapid. A friend informs me that, when an officer on board one of the East India Company's ships in 1819, on a voyage from Singapore to China by the eastern passage, the vessel off the south coast of Borneo passed through, during calm weather, continuous tracts of slimy water. Several streaks or planks of the ship about the water-line became covered with small gelatinous substances,—apparently derived from the slimy water. In a short time these substances became small shells, of the Lepas or barnacle kind; and at the end of about four weeks the cephalopods had completely coated that part of the vessel, from stem to stern. They were of all lengths, up to one and a half and two inches; and it was found necessary to take advantage of a calm day to lower all the boats, and to scrape off these rapidly-increasing obstacles to the sailing of the ship. I have myself, quite recently, seen brought on shore on the English coast, two pieces of wood, each about the size of the two open hands, studded as closely with barnacles as the peduncles could be packed, and of greater length than those of the Indian Seas just described.

All this growth proceeded from inorganic material in the water selected and transformed into organic matter by a vital process, as soon as the necessary opportunity for adhesion presented itself. The inference follows, that if the accidental passage of a ship afforded the condition sufficient to reveal or cause organic life to so large an extent, the amount of possible life, even in the one field traversed, that did *not* receive the proper conditions for its developement, must have been enormous. What, then, must be the entire chemical potentialities

of the ocean for producing solid matter? Other shelled molluscs and infusoria, unlike those described, may not require for their production and developement adhesion to fixed or floating substances. Their production may go on in the water, unaided by such conditions, rapidly and with constancy. Each individual in its short existence transforms inorganic matter into the beautiful forms of ammonites, naviculæ, nummulites, &c.; and after the animal's death, the shell sinks. At a short distance below the surface of the sea its waters, free from agitating winds and currents, probably remain in stagnant immobility; and in those depths, during ages untold, the two processes of formation of shells and their quiet deposit go on. Thus will have been produced the wonderful chalk deposits, hundreds of feet in thickness, all parts of which showing, under the microscope, that they are mainly composed of entire shells or the detritus of shells. In a similar manner the emery stone may have been formed from the beautiful siliceous wing-cases of diatomaceæ.

Several passages in Dr. Maury's valuable contribution to science, his 'Physical Geography of the Sea,' are so confirmatory of the preceding remarks, and are in themselves so interesting, that I have selected and strung together at the end of this chapter some detached portions of his work which bear upon the subjects herein treated of.

It is, in fact, to volcanic action that we must look for the production of long ridges and vast circular reefs forming chain and lagoon islands rising from the profound depths of the ocean. Darwin, whilst he dismisses the volcanic hypothesis, says, 'the theory generally received is, that lagoon-islands or atolls are based on submarine craters.'* Wilkes remarks that all the coral islands lie within an ocean subject to the effects of volcanic action; and his presumption is that many islands and groups now separated, were once united in extensive tracts of land, and that their alteration and dismemberment have been brought about by the same causes that affect other lands.†

* Voyages of the Beagle.

† United States Exploring Expedition.

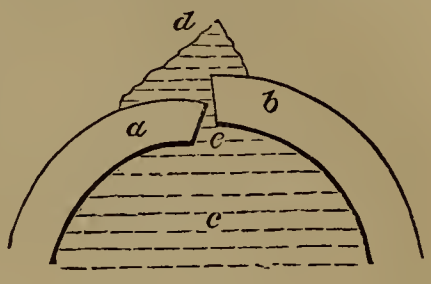
The late Admiral Beechey, in his Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, states that he examined fifty coral islands, and that for thirty-two of them he sent plans, soundings, &c., to the Admiralty. He is, consequently, entitled to form an opinion upon their character and origin. Twenty-nine of these thirty-two islands had lagoons in their centres, and the rest appeared to have once possessed an internal depression, but which had become obliterated by having been filled up with coral and such substances as the sea cast upon these low islands. He says, 'the general opinion now is that they have their foundations upon submarine mountains, or upon extinguished volcanoes, which are not more than four or five hundred feet immersed in the ocean; and that their shape depends upon the figure of the base whence they spring.'* He also detected in what were called Chain-islands, consisting of a number of islets grouped in a circular or oval form, that the visible islets were only the higher portions of a ridge having that general shape; and that the ridge was continuous at forty and thirty fathoms below water, and even at less depths. The comparatively large group of the Gambier islands, of which a careful plan with soundings is given in his volumes, is, in all likelihood, the irregular wall of a very large submarine volcano. The islands which rise in the central space are probably cones, which are always thrown up within craters in activity. In most, or all cases, a current sets out from the lagoon within a coral island through an opening in the wall or ridge; and the hiatus in the reef is nearly always on the windward side. Its place is sometimes determined by the course of fresh water, when there are springs on these islands, as the lithophytes do not work or live within the influence of fresh water. Beneath the gaps, as has already been said, at some fathoms depth, the ridge even in these places is continuous.

The circular ridges forming lagoons and chains of islands must, then, be regarded as the walls of craters. Above water these are illustrated by the rocky ridges of immense diameter which surround the craters of Kileaua, and Hale-a-ka-la,

* Vol. i. p. 261.

described in the text of this volume. They represent a lagoon-island, only still farther elevated, and discharged of the water it enclosed.

The straight reefs or ridges must be looked upon as having been lifted up by linear volcanic action, or ejected from fissures formed in the crust of the globe, as the outer strata in cooling contracted upon the incompressible core within. The process may be seen by allowing a poker to heat to redness in the fire and remain long enough for the surface to become well oxidised. On exposure to the air, the incrustation on the metal cools first, and is caused by the hot unelastic iron beneath to split with irregular fissures, and to fall off. Apply this to the earth. Let *a* and *b* represent portions of the cool and contracted crust. Let *c* be the internal fluid mass; *e* the fissure formed in consequence of the crust contracting on the incompressible core. The arch of cohesion being broken, one side of the fracture will be free to gravitate downwards and fall in, displacing an equivalent of fluid matter, which will be ejected in a form the section of which is that of an unequal prism, *d*. Let the fissure take the direction north and south, and Andes and Cordilleras are produced, with unequal sides, a scalene triangle in section, descending rapidly with a short base of detritus into the ocean depths on one side; spreading out gradually, or in waves, on the other side. Such cosmic agonies are not without visible and audible phenomena, tempered according to depth, if below water; agitating the ocean, and throwing huge waves on to shores with corresponding retirements, until the disturbance has subsided and the equilibrium is regained. Earthquakes and waterquakes are also the attendants of these fractures, which are now only on a small scale compared with the gigantic fissures which formed the continuous range of Andes and Rocky Mountains, the spine of North and South America; the Indian Ghauts, &c.



A ridge, whether longitudinal or circular, having been uplifted sufficiently near the surface of the sea, offers the condition proper for coral formation. It seems necessary that the lithophytes be covered generally with water, but the depth of water must not be too great. Light appears essential to the polyps; and it is probable that it is the loss of light at considerable depths, which limits their workmanship to certain distances below water. The rapidity of coral formation is in opposite ratio with the depth of water in which it proceeds. Thus, in water from three to ten fathoms deep, the coral attains its average height, viz. ten to twelve inches, in eight years. Ten years are required for an equal growth in fifteen fathoms; twenty-five or thirty years where the depth is increased to 100 fathoms (600 feet); whilst at 900 feet, at least forty years are occupied in producing the same height of coral. It is presumable that below a thousand feet of water the production of coral does not take place. In the Mediterranean and Red Seas, coral is never met with in less than about ten feet of water, nor at a greater depth than 900 feet; but in the Pacific, Mr. Cheever mentions having collected at the island of Molokai, Sandwich Islands, fine living specimens from a reef which never had more than two feet of water on it, and which must sometimes at low water have been laid bare. An even temperature of 76 degrees Fahr. seems most congenial to the growth of coral.

The coral stem is very destructible: it is quickly abraded by tides and currents, and is found pierced in every part by worms. Its attachment at the base is easily overcome. It becomes pulverised and mixed with chalk and sand, and with other organisms; and in this state it forms the amorphous part of the coral rock, and itself the foundation for a fresh growth of coral, rising from its surface, each successive growth being not more than twelve inches in height. Even the amorphous coral rock is based on a deposited substratum of rock less organized than itself. 'The more solid and compact texture of the rock, often stratified, would also lead one to ascribe it to a different origin from the corals, whose exact and beautiful cellular structure evinces an animal agency as plainly as the

honeycomb of a bee-hive. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose the calcareous coral rock either secreted by insects, or the exuviæ of insects, or the dead bodies of insects themselves; but they are simply carbonate of lime precipitated from the sea-water which holds its particles in solution, mixed and cemented together with broken shells and pieces of coral.' Such rocks are the true base of the coral islands, where the base is not volcanic or a platform of chalk or inorganic rock lifted up above the general sea-bottom. It is one of the most established cosmical processes that elevations and depressions of the crust of the earth are constantly taking place—some rapid, as by volcanoes and earthquakes, others slow and gradual, acting through long or secular periods. Thus some shores of the Baltic are rising with a very minute yearly elevation. In volcanic regions the alterations of level are often sudden and conspicuous. The island of Molokai, one of the Hawaiian group, bears evidence of rapid local elevation; well-defined coral being found on it at the height of 500 feet above the sea-level. A missionary reports a statement made by the natives of Kauai that a bed of coral or coral sand exists on one of the mountains there, 4,000 feet above the ocean. Beechey describes Henderson's Island as bearing unmistakeable symptoms of having been raised. It is composed of dead coral, elevated eighty feet above the sea, and having perpendicular cliffs nearly all the way round it 'as if, after being formed in the ocean, it had been pushed up by a subterranean convulsion.' It is now nearly encompassed by a reef of living coral.*

Malden's island, mentioned in the earlier part of the text of this work, was examined by Captain Goddard during the year 1861. It indicates by seven distinct beaches or water-lines, six successive elevations since its first emergence from the ocean, the last upheaval being so recent that paths made from the higher platform where the remains of human dwellings appear, pass through six of the beaches on their way to the sea, and invariably terminate before reaching the seventh beach.

* Narrative, vol. i p. 264.

The following excerpted passages from Maury's 'Physical Geography of the Sea' will form a proper and interesting pendent to the chapter:

I was delighted to find that *all* these deep soundings are filled with microscopic shells: not a particle of sand or gravel exists in them. They are chiefly made up of little calcareous shells (*Foraminiferæ*), and contain also a small number of siliceous shells (*Diatomaceæ*).

'It is not probable that these animals lived at the depths where these shells are found, but I rather think that they inhabit the water near the surface; and when they die, their shells settle to the bottom.'—(Letter from Professor Bailey, of West Point.)

These shells were from the great telegraphic plateau, and the inference is that there, if anywhere, the waters of the sea are at rest. There was not motion enough there to abrade these very delicate organisms, &c. § 271.

It is now suggested that henceforward we should view the surface of the sea as a nursery teeming with nascent organisms, its depths as the cemetery for families of living creatures that outnumber the sands on the sea-shore for multitude. § 723.

These oceans of animalculæ that make the surface of the sea sparkle and glow with life, are secreting from its surface solid matter for the very purpose of filling up those cavities below. These little marine insects are building their habitations at the surface, and when they die, their remains, in vast multitudes, sink down and settle upon the bottom. They are the atoms of which mountains are formed and plains spread out. Our marl-beds, the clay in our river-bottoms, large portions of many of the great basins of the earth, are composed of the remains of just such little creatures as these, which the ingenuity of Brooke and the industry of Berryman have enabled us to fish up from the depth of more than two miles (12,000 feet) below the sea-level. § 730. The diatoms from the coral sea were very few in number, and mostly fragmentary. § 753. However, the specimens of sea-bottom from the ocean between Lon. 168 to 175 E. and Lat. 56·46 to 60·30 N. were *very rich* in the siliceous shells of the Diatomaceæ, which were in an admirable state of preservation, &c. § 758, note.

The deep sea-soundings from the Pacific differ considerably from those of the Atlantic. The latter soundings were composed almost wholly of calcareous shells of the Foraminiferæ; those from the coral sea contain very few Foraminiferæ, and are of a siliceous rather than of a calcareous nature. § 754. (This seems a little discrepant.)

As to the repose of the sea at great depths, the unabraded appearance of these shells, and the almost total absence of the mixture of any

detritus from the sea, or foreign matter, suggest forcibly the idea of perfect repose at the bottom of the deep sea. § 760. Indeed, these soundings suggest the idea that the sea, like the snow-cloud with its flakes in a calm, is always letting fall upon its bed showers of these microscopic shells. § 71.

And as to the immensity of life, and the power of converting inorganic material, we have now had specimens from the bottom of the 'blue water' in the narrow coral sea, the broad Pacific, and the long Atlantic, and they all tell the same story, namely, that the bed of the ocean is a vast cemetery. § 759. The ocean, especially within and near the tropics, swarms with life. The remains of its myriads of moving things are conveyed by currents, and scattered and lodged in the course of time all over its bottom. The process, continued for ages, has covered the depths of the ocean as with a mantle, consisting of organisms as delicate as the macled frost, and as light as the undrifted snow-flake on the mountain. § 761. The rivers convey to the sea this solid matter mixed with fresh water, which being lighter than that of the ocean, remains for a considerable time at or near the surface. Here the microscopic organisms of the deep sea lead are continually at work, secreting this same lime and soda, &c., and extracting from this sea-water all this solid matter as fast as the rivers bring and empty it into the sea. They live and die at the surface, then sinking, the bottom of the sea is strewed with them. § 738. The task of secreting the calcareous matter from the sea-water appears to have been left by these little mites of creatures to the madrepore and shell-fish, while these little mites themselves undertook the hard task of getting the siliceous matter out. § 757.

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# INDEX.


Acton's Modern Cookery ..... 27
Alcock's Residence in Japan ..... 22
Allies on Formation of Christendom..... 20
Alpine Guide (The) ..... 23
Alvensleben's Maximilian in Mexico .... 5
Apjohn's Manual of the Metalloids ..... 12
Arnold's Manual of English Literature.... 7
Arnott's Elements of Physics..... 11
Arundines Cami ..... 25
Autumn holidays of a Country Parson .. 8
Ayre's Treasury of Bible Knowledge..... 19

Bacon's Essays, by Whately ..... 5
——— Life and Letters, by Spedding..... 5
——— Works..... 6
Bain on the Emotions and Will..... 9
——— on the Senses and Intellect..... 9
———on the Study of Character ..... 9
Ball's Alpine Guide ..... 22
Barnard's Drawing from Nature..... 16
Bayldon's Rents and Tillages..... 18
Beaten Tracks ..... 22
Becker's Charicles *and* Gallus ..... 23
Beethoven's Letters ..... 4
Benfey's Sanskrit Dictionary ..... 8
Berry's Journals and Correspondence .... 4
Billiard Book (The) ..... 26
Black's Treatise on Brewing ..... 28
Blackley and Friedlander's German and English Dictionary ..... 8
Blaine's Rural Sports ..... 25
———Veterinary Art..... 26
Blight's Week at the Land's End ..... 23
Booth's Epigrams..... 9
Bourne on Screw Propeller ..... 17
Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine.. 17
——— Handbook of Steam Engine..... 17
——— Treatise on the Steam Engine... 17
Bowdler's Family Shakspeare ..... 25
Boyd's Manual for Naval Cadets..... 27
Bramley-Moore's Six Sisters of the Valleys 23
Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art..... .. 13
Bray's (C.) Education of the Feelings..... 10
——— Philosophy of Necessity..... 10
——— on Force..... .... 10
Brinton on Food and Digestion..... 27
Bristow's Glossary of Mineralogy..... 11
Brodie's (Sir C. B.) Works..... 15
———Constitutional History..... 2
Browne's Exposition 39 Articles..... 18
Buckle's History of Civilization ..... 2
Bull's Hints to Mothers..... 28
——— Maternal Management of Children. 28
Bunsen's (Baron) Ancient Egypt ..... 3
Bunsen's (Baron) God in History ..... 3
——— Memoirs ..... 4
Bunsen (E. De) on Apocrypha..... 20
———'s Keys of St. Peter..... 20
Burke's Vicissitudes of Families ..... 5
Burton's Christian Church ..... 3

Cabinet Lawyer ..... 28
Calvert's Wife's Manual ..... 21
Cates's Biographical Dictionary ..... 4
Cats' and Farlie's Moral Emblems..... 16
Chorale Book for England ..... 16
Christian Schools and Scholars ..... 10
Clough's Lives from Plutarch..... 2
Colenso (Bishop) on Pentateuch and Book of Joshua ..... 19
Collins's Horse-Trainer's Guide ..... 26
Commonplace Philosopher in Town and Country..... 8
Coninoton's Chemical Analysis..... 14
———- Translation of Virgil's *Æneid* 25
Contanseau's Pocket French and English Dictionary ..... 8
——— Practical ditto ..... 8
Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul..... 18
Cook on the Acts..... 18
Copland's Dictionary of Practical Medicine 15
Coulthart's Decimal Interest Tables..... 28
Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit .. 8
Cox's Manual of Mythology..... 24
——— Tales of the Great Persian War ..... 2
——— Tales from Greek Mythology..... 24
——— Tales of the Gods and Heroes ..... 24
——— Tales of Thebes and Argos ..... 24
Cresy's Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering 17
Critical Essays of a Country Parson ..... 8
Crowe's History of France ..... 2
Crump on Banking, Currency, & Exchanges 27

Dart's Iliad of Homer..... 25
D'Aubione's History of the Reformation in the time of Calvin..... 2
Davidson's Introduction to New Testament 19
Dayman's Dante's Divina Commedia ..... 25
Dead Shot (The), by Marksman ..... 26
De Burgh's Maritime International Law.. 27
De la Rive's Treatise on Electricity ..... 11
De Morgan on Matter and Spirit ..... 9
De Tocqueville's Democracy in America.. 2
Disraeli's Speeches on Parliamentary Reform ..... 6
Dobson on the Ox ..... 27
Dove on Storms ..... 10
Dyer's City of Rome ..... 2

EASTLAKE'S Hints on Household Taste .... 17
EDWARDS' Shipmaster's Guide ..... 27
Elements of Botany ..... 13
ELLICOTT'S Commentary on Ephesians .... 19
——— Lectures on Life of Christ ..... 19
——— Commentary on Galatians ..... 19
——— Pastoral Epist... 19
——— Philippians, &c.. 19
——— Thessalonians... 19
ENGEL'S Introduction to National Music .. 15
Essays and Reviews ..... 20
——— on Religion and Literature, edited by MANNING, FIRST *and* SECOND SERIES.. 20
EWALD'S History of Israel ..... 19

FAIRBAIRN on Iron Shipbuilding ..... 17
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FARRAR'S Chapters on Language ..... 7
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GORLE'S Questions on BROWNE'S Exposition of the 39 Articles..... 18
GRANT'S Ethics of Aristotle ..... 5
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GRAY'S Anatomy..... 14
GREENE'S Corals and Sea Jellies ..... 12
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——— Compendium of ditto..... 19

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KELLER'S Lake Dwellings of Switzerland.. 12
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KNIGHT'S Arch of Titus ..... 23

Lady's Tour Round Monte Rosa ..... 22
LANDON'S (L. E. L.) Poetical Works..... 25
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LAWRENCE on Rocks ..... 11
LECKY'S History of Rationalism ..... 3
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Letters of Distinguished Musicians ..... 4
LIDDELL and SCOTT'S Greek-English Lexicon 7
——— Abridged ditto ..... 7
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——— Cottage, Farm, Villa Architecture 18
——— Gardening..... 18
——— Plants..... 13
——— Trees and Shrubs..... 13
LOWNDES'S Engineer's Handbook ..... 17
Lyra Domestica ..... 21
——— Eucharistica ..... 21
——— Germanica ..... 16, 21
——— Messianica ..... 21
——— Mystica ..... 21
——— Sacra ..... 21

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——— History of England..... 1
——— Lays of Ancient Rome. 24
——— Miscellaneous Writings 8
——— Speeches ..... 6

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Macleod's Elements of Political Economy 6
——— Dictionary of Political Economy 6
——— Elements of Banking ..... 27
——— Theory and Practice of Banking 27
McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce ..... 27
———Geographical Dictionary..... 10
Maguire's Irish in America..... 23
——— Life of Father Mathew..... 4
——— Rome and its Rulers..... 4
Malleson's French in India..... 3
Manning on Holy Ghost..... 20
———'s England and Christendom..... 20
Marshall's Physiology ..... 14
Marshman's Life of Havelock..... 5
———History of India..... 3
Martineau's Endeavours after the Christian Life ..... 21
Massey's History of England ..... 2
———(G.) on Shakspeare's Sonnets ..... 25
Massingberd's History of the Reformation.. 4
Maunder's Biographical Treasury ..... 5
——— Geographical Treasury ..... 11
——— Historical Treasury ..... 3
——— Scientific and Literary Treasury 13
——— Treasury of Knowledge ..... 28
——— Treasury of Natural History .. 13
Maury's Physical Geography ..... 10
May's Constitutional History of England.. 2
Melville's Digby Grand..... 24
———General Bounce ..... 24
———Gladiators ..... 24
———Good for Nothing ..... 24
———Holmby House ..... 24
———Interpreter ..... 24
———Kate Coventry ..... 24
———Queen's Maries..... 24
Mendelssohn's Letters..... 4
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——— (C.) Fall of the Roman Republic 3
——— Romans under the Empire 3
Miles on Horse's Foot and Horseshoeing... 26
——— on Horses' Teeth and Stables..... 26
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——— on Representative Government..... 6
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——— St. Andrews' Inaugural Address .. 6
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Monsell's Beatitudes ..... 21
——— His Presence—not his Memory.. 21
——— 'Spiritual Songs'..... 21
Montgomery on Pregnancy ..... 14
Moore's Irish Melodies..... 24
——— Lalla Rookh ..... 24
——— Poetical Works..... 24
——— Dr. G.) First Man..... 12
Morell's Elements of Psychology ..... 9
——— Mental Philosophy ..... 9
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Mozart's Letters..... 4
Müller's (Max) Chips from a German Workshop ..... 9
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——— (K. O.) Literature of Ancient Greece ..... 2
Murchison on Continued Fevers..... 14
Mure's Language and Literature of Greece 2

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Newman's History of his Religious Opinions 4

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Nilsson's Scandinavia ..... 12

Odling's Animal Chemistry..... 14
———Course of Practical Chemistry.... 14
———Manual of Chemistry ..... 14
Original Designs for Wood Carving ..... 17
Owen's Lectures on the Invertebrate Animals ..... 12
——— Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrate Animals ..... 12
Oxenham on Atonement..... 20

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Paget's Lectures on Surgical Pathology .. 14
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Perkins's Tuscan Sculptors ..... 15
Phillips's Guide to Geology ..... 17
Pictures in Tyrol ..... 22
Piesse's Art of Perfumery ..... 18
——— Chemical, Natural, and Physical Magic..... 18
Pike's English and their Origin..... 9
Pitt on Brewing ..... 28
Playtime with the Poets ..... 25
Pratt's Law of Building Societies ..... 28
Prescott's Scripture Difficulties ..... 19
Proctor's Saturn ..... 10
——— Handbook of the Stars..... 10
Pycroft's Course of English Reading..... 7
———. Cricket Field ..... 26

Raikes's Englishman in India ..... 23
Reade's Poetical Works ..... 25
Recreations of a Country Parson..... 8
Reily's Map of Mont Blanc ..... 22
Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide..... 13
Rogers's Correspondence of Greyson ..... 9
——— Eclipse of Faith ..... 9
——— Defence of ditto ..... 9
——— Essays from the *Edinburgh Review* 9
——— Reason and Faith ..... 9
Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases..... 7
Ronalds's Fly-Fisher's Entomology ..... 26
Rowton's Debater..... 7
Rudd's Aristophanes..... 25
Russell on Government and Constitution.. 1

Sandars's Justinian's Institutes..... 5
Schubert's Life translated by Coleridge.. 5
Scott's Lectures on the Fine Arts ..... 15
Seebohm's Oxford Reformers of 1498 ..... 2
Sewell's After Life ..... 23
——— Amy Herbert ..... 23
———Cleve Hall..... 23
———Earl's Daughter..... 23
———Examination for Confirmation ... 20
———Experience of Life..... 23
———Gertrude ..... 23
———Glimpse of the World ..... 23
———History of the Early Church..... 3
———Ivors ..... 23
———Journal of a Home Life ..... 23
———Katharine Ashton ..... 23
———Laneton Parsonage..... 23
———Margaret Percival ..... 23
———Passing Thoughts on Religion.... 20
———Preparation for Communion..... 20
———Principles of Education ..... 20

SEWELL'S Readings for Confirmation..... 20
———Readings for Lent ..... 20
———Tales and Stories..... 23
———Ursula ..... 23
SHAW'S Work on Wine ..... 28
SHEPHERD'S Iceland ..... 22
SHIPLEY'S Church and the World ..... 19
——— Tracts for the Day ..... 20
Short Whist ..... 28
SHORT'S Church History ..... 3
SMITH'S (SOUTHWOOD) Philosophy of Health 28
———(J.) Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck.. 18
———(G.) King David ..... 19
——— ——— Wesleyan Methodism ..... 4
———(SYDNEY) Miscellaneous Works .... 8
———Moral Philosophy ..... 8
———Wit and Wisdom..... 9
SMITH on Cavalry Drill and Manœuvres.... 26
SOUTHEY'S (Doctor) ..... 7
——— Poetical Works..... 24
Springdale Abbey ..... 23
STANLEY'S History of British Birds ..... 12
STEBBING'S Analysis of MILL'S Logic..... 6
STEPHEN'S Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography..... 5
——— Lectures on History of France.. 2
STIRLING'S Secret of Hegel..... 9
STONEHENGE on the Dog ..... 26
——— on the Greyhound..... 27
Sunday Afternoons at the Parish Church of a Scottish University City (Aberdeen).... 8

TAYLOR'S (Jeremy) Works, edited by EDEN 21
———(E.) Selections from some Contemporary Poets ..... 25
TENNENT'S Ceylon ..... 13
———Wild Elephant..... 13
THIRLWALL'S History of Greece ..... 2
THOMSON'S (Archbishop) Laws of Thought 6
——— (A. T.) Conspectus ..... 15
TIMBS'S Curiosities of London ..... 23
TODD (A.) on Parliamentary Government.. 1
TODD'S Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology ..... 14
———and BOWMAN'S Anatomy and Physiology of Man ..... 15
TROLLOPE'S Barchester Towers..... 23
———Warden ..... 23
TWISS'S Law of Nations ..... 27

TYNDALL'S Lectures on Heat..... 11
———Sound ..... 11
——— Memoir of FARADAY ..... 5

URE'S Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines ..... 17

VAN DER HOEVEN'S Handbook of Zoology.. 11
VAUGHAN'S (R.) Revolutions in English History..... 1
——— Way to Rest..... 19

WALKER on the Rifle ..... 26
WARD'S Workmen and Wages ..... 6
WATSON'S Principles and Practice of Physic 14
WATTS'S Dictionary of Chemistry..... 13
WEBB'S Objects for Common Telescopes.... 10
WEBSTER & WILKINSON'S Greek Testament 19
WELD'S Florence..... 22
WELLINGTON'S Life, by the Rev G. R. GLEIG ..... 4
WELLS on Dew..... 11
WENDT'S Papers on Maritime Law..... 27
WEST on Children's Diseases..... 14
WHATELY'S English Synonymes ..... 5
———Logic ..... 5
———Rhetoric ..... 5
———Life and Correspondence ..... 4
WHATELY on the Truth of Christianity.... 21
——— Religious Worship ..... 21
Whist, what to lead, by CAM..... 28
WHITE and RIDDLE'S Latin-English Dictionaries ..... 7
WINSLOW on Light..... 11
WOOD'S Bible Animals ..... 12
——— Homes without Hands..... 12
WRIGHT'S Homer's Iliad..... 25

YONGE'S English-Greek Lexicon ..... 7
——— Abridged ditto ..... 7
——— Horace..... 25
YOUNG'S Nautical Dictionary ..... 27
YOUATT on the Dog ..... 26
——— on the Horse ..... 26


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